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THE HON.BLE HENRY SIDNEY.

Drawn by G.P. Harding F.S.A.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF LORD DE LISLE.

London, Published by Henry Colburn, Great Marlborough Street, 1843.

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DIARY OF THE TIMES

OF

CI ARLES THE SECOND

BY THE

I ONOURABLE HENRY SIDNEY,

(AFTERWARDS EARL OF ROMNEY)

INCLUDING HIS CORRESPONDENCE

WITH

THE COUNTESS OF SUNDERLAND,

AND OTHER DISTINGUISHED PERSONS AT THE ENGLISH COURT;

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

LETTERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE TIMES OF JAMES II. AND WILLIAM III.,

EDITED, WITH NOTES, BY

R. W. BLENCOWE, ESQ. A.M.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
HENRY COLBURN, PUBLISHER,
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1843.

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DEDICATION.

TO THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF CHICHESTER.

My dear Lord,

In dedicating this work to your Lordship, I beg to offer you my best thanks for the unreserved confidence with which you have entrusted to my care, for selection and publication, those family manuscripts, which constitute its chief value and interest.

For this, which is but one of many acts of great kindness which I have experienced from your Lordship, believe me I shall ever feel very grateful.

I remain, my dear Lord,

Yours very truly,

ROBERT WILLIS BLENCOWE.

PREFACE.

Henry Sidney, Earl of Romney, who died in 1704, appointed his nephews, Thomas Pelham, Henry Pelham, and John Sidney, his executors; and, among other things, he bequeathed to Thomas Pelham his cabinets and his papers.

Thomas Pelham, who was the eldest son of Sir John Pelham, married, for his first wife, Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir William Jones. His second wife was Grace, the daughter of Gilbert, Earl of Clare, sister of John Holles, Duke of Newcastle, who died in 1700. Their eldest son was Thomas Pelham, Duke of Newcastle, the minister. He was created Baron Pelham, of Laughton, and died in 1712. Henry Pelham, the second brother, married Frances, daughter and coheir of John Bynde, Esq. He died in 1712; and from him the present Earl of Chichester, the possessor of the Sidney and the Pelham Manuscripts, is directly descended.*

In selecting and preparing these papers for publication, and in searching for cotemporary notices illustrative of facts and persons, I have met with that assistance from my friends which I take this opportunity gratefully to acknowledge. From the

* See Pedigree.

Rev. Philip Stanhope Dodd, the rector of Penshurst, who, eighteen years ago, aided and encouraged me in a kindred pursuit, and whose offices of kindness and friendship have never been relaxed, I have again received much valuable information; and to him, to Mr. Serjeant D'Oyly, Mr. Markland,* and Mr. Herman Merivale, I feel grateful, not only for encouragement to proceed, but for matter which has much improved the work.

To Mr. Upcott I beg to offer my best thanks for the liberal manner in which, upon my application to him, he opened to me all those valuable stores of manuscripts from which I have drawn so largely. Nor should I do justice to my feelings, if I did not take this opportunity of testifying my obligation to Lord Stanley of Alderley, Sir Henry Ellis, Mr. Ormerod, and Mr. Brooke, for the trouble they have taken to assist me in my inquiries. For the portrait of the Honourable Henry Sidney prefixed to the first volume of this work, I am indebted to the courtesy of Lord de Lisle, who kindly permitted a copy to be made from the original picture in his possession.

R. W. B.

12, Hereford Street,
May 20, 1843.

* The reader will judge how greatly I have been assisted by my friend, Mr. Markland, when I state that I am obliged to him entirely for the valuable note, vol. ii. p. 281, in reference to the Divines recommended by Burnet to William for promotion.

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VOL. II.

Portrait of the Countess of Sunderland. From the Original Picture at Hampton Court. By Sir P. Lely . . . . *Frontispiece*

INTRODUCTION.

The first of Sidney's correspondents, whose letters are now offered to the public, in point of age, is his sister, the Dowager Countess of Sunderland, the eldest daughter of Robert, Earl of Leicester, and of Dorothy, the daughter of Henry, Earl of Northumberland.

Dorothy Sidney was born in 1617, at Sion House, the seat of her grandfather, the Earl of Northumberland, who at the time of her birth was a prisoner in the Tower, on suspicion of having been acquainted with the intention of one of the parties engaged in the Gunpowder Plot.

Her mother seems to have watched over her early years with the greatest care and tenderness; and, as she grew up gifted with great personal attractions, and the object of flattery from the most

popular poet of his day,[1] it is not a little creditable to her head and heart that she does not appear to have been at all spoilt by it. There never was a mother more anxious to settle her daughter in life than Lady Leicester, and many and most amusing are the passages in which, writing to her absent Lord, who was the Ambassador at Paris, she communicates her speculations, hopes, and disappointments on this subject:[2] and happy indeed

[1] She was the Sacharissa of Waller.

[2] Many a mother will enter into Lady Leicester's feelings when she thus wrote, in 1636, to her husband at Paris. "It would joy me much to receive some hope of that Lord's addresses to Doll, which once you wrote to me of, for next to what concerns you, I confess she is considered by me above any thing of this world." And again: "Holland professes to my sister, that he desires the parties here might have an absolute refusal; but I am confident that if he had showed himself real to my Lord Devonshire's marrying Doll, which he professed, they would never have employed him in making a marriage for another, which makes me conclude that either his lady commands him to hinder Doll, or else he is so weak and so unfaithful as his friendship is not worthy the least." And on the breaking off her daughter's marriage with Lord Lovelace, on account of his loose character, she says, "My dear heart, let not these cross accidents trouble you, for we do not know what God has provided for her; and howsoever let us submit to his will, and confess that his benefits are far beyond our deserts, and his punishments much less than we have reason to expect." — Collins's *Sidney State Papers*, ii., 495.

she must have been, when at length one of the best and noblest youths of England, the young Lord Spencer, afterwards created Earl of Sunderland, declared himself her suitor. They were married under every propitious omen, but their happiness was short-lived. He was killed at the battle of Newbury, fighting gallantly on the King's side, with "those melancholy forebodings of danger from the victory of his own party which filled the breasts of the more generous royalists, and which on the same occasion saddened the dying moments of Lord Falkland."[1]

The following extract from a letter of her father's, in which he attempts to give some comfort to his daughter, does honour to the writer, and proves how heavily the blow had fallen on them all.

"I know you lived happily, and so as no one but yourself could measure the contentment of it. I rejoiced at it, and did thank God for making me one of the means to procure it for you. That now is past, and I will not flatter you so much as to say I think you can ever be so happy in this life again; but this comfort you owe me, that I may see you bear this change and your misfortune patiently.....

[1] Mackintosh's *Hist. Rev.*

"I doubt not but your eyes are full of tears, and not the emptier for those they shed. God comfort you, and let us join in prayer to Him, that he will be pleased to give his grace to you, to your mother, and to myself, that all of us may resign and submit ourselves entirely and cheerfully to his pleasure. So nothing shall be able to make us unhappy in this life, nor hinder us from being happy in that which is eternal."[1]

At the time of Lord Sunderland's death, they had three children; Robert, whose letters to his uncle are now published, and two daughters, the eldest of whom was afterwards married to Lord Halifax. And for the wardship and care of her son, his widow thus feelingly pleads to Charles I., through the intercession of her father:

"My Lord,

"The afflictions of my spirit and the weakness of my body will scarce suffer me to write; but the consideration I have of my poor orphans makes me force myself to desire your Lordship that you will be pleased in my behalf to beseech his Majesty to

[1] Collins's *Sidney State Papers*. For the whole of this letter see Appendix A, end of vol. ii., where also is given, in an extract from a letter of Mr. Sudbury to the Earl of Leicester, a very interesting account of the effect of the fatal tidings on Lady Leicester and Lady Sunderland.

join your Lordship with me in the wardship of my son; for, except I receive your care and assistance in this business, I cannot hope to live or die with any satisfaction in what concerns my children's fortune. They are nearest to your Lordship if I should fail, and I cannot rely with confidence on any but yourself.

"What the King has graciously promised I cannot doubt, and therefore I make no request for that which I conceive is already given; but I hear that some of my dear Lord's kindred have endeavoured to injure me, which I did as little expect as I do now apprehend anything which may contradict a declaration of his Majesty's justice to one who am by this loss the unhappiest of all creatures.

"The wardship will be of so little value for some years, as, were I not full of affection for my son, I should not wish the trouble which I believe this business will bring to me.

"I would have written to the King myself, but the distempers I am in have so dulled the little sense I had, as I dare not say anything to his Majesty. Wherefore I do again beseech your Lordship to present my request with that humility which becomes me, and if it be possible for me to take any comfort in this world, it will be in know-

ing that my son shall remain in your Lordship's care, if it should please God to take me from him.

"I have written with much pain, and yet I must add to it a protestation of being so long as I breathe, with all sincerity of heart, your Lordship's

"Most humble, obedient daughter,

"D. SUNDERLAND."[1]

Lady Sunderland, during the first years of her widowhood, lived with her parents at Penshurst; but Lord Leicester tells us in his journal, that in September, 1650, "she went from thence to London, and from London to dwell by herself at Althorpe." During her residence there she is said to have endeared herself to the country round by acts of charity and hospitality; and Lloyd, in his Memoirs of the Loyalists, says, "She is not to be mentioned without the highest honour in this catalogue of sufferers, to many of whom her house was a sanctuary, her interest a protection, her estate a maintenance, and the livings in her gift a preferment."

In 1652 she was married a second time to Sir Robert Smythe, son and heir of Sir John Smythe,

[1] In Mr. Upcott's *Collection*.

by whom she had one son. From the dry and concise way in which Lord Leicester has recorded this fact, it may be doubted whether he altogether approved of this marriage. He writes thus: "On Thursday, the 8th of July, my daughter Spencer (Sunderland) was married to Sir Robert Smith, at Penshurst; my wife being present, with my daughters Strangford and Lucy Pelham, Algernon, and Robin Sidney, &c., but I was in London."

At the period of this correspondence with her brother Henry, Lady Sunderland was in her 62d year. Her letters breathe that kindly spirit for which she was distinguished in her youth, and are amusingly dashed with that love of scandal and taste for politics which we might expect to find in a lady of sixty-two, who had seen so much of the world, and who was intimately related to several of the leading statesmen of the day.

Lady Sunderland survived her second husband, and was buried in the vault of the Spencer family at Brighton, in 1684.[1]

---

[1] Collins's *Sidney State Papers*. Blencowe's *Sidney Papers*.

Henry Sidney, the younger brother of Lady Sunderland, who was afterwards created Viscount Sidney and Earl of Romney, by William III., the author of the Diary, and the centre, as it were, of the correspondence now published, was born at Paris, in the year 1640, during his father's embassy at that court.

The first notice we have of him is that contained in his father's journal, in which he gives an interesting account of the last hours of Lady Leicester, who died in 1659, when Henry Sidney was eighteen years old, from which it may be inferred that he was her favourite son; whilst it is equally clear from his sister's letters that he was the brother she loved best.[1]

[1] "Then the writings being brought, and a thin book held under the place where she should set her name, she took the pen more strongly than I expected. She put it into the ink herself, and wrote her name to 4 or 5 several writings. Then said she to me, "My dear heart, I thank you, and I pray God to bless to our dear boy (Henry) that which I have done for him."—Blencowe's *Sidney Papers*, p. 274.

The following extract to her will shows this feeling more strongly. "Having received a liberty from my dear Lord and husband to dispose according to my will of such things as he has at any time bestowed upon me, or that I have bought with the money that has been in my own hands, I do therefore give to my son, Henry Sidney, the French plate, the Mortlake hangings, all my pictures, my black cabinets, my looking

When next we hear of him we find him at the age of twenty-five attached to the Court as Groom of the Bedchamber in the household of the Duke of York, an object of envy to the one sex and of admiration to the other, being confessedly the handsomest and most graceful man of his day. Whilst in this situation, he became deeply enamoured of his royal mistress, the Duchess of York. He had allowed his affections to soar too high, and he fell, for the Duke, being made aware of this, dismissed him abruptly from Court. Whether his love was requited or not is doubtful. If we trust to the scandalous chronicle of Hamilton it was amply returned, whilst Sir John Reresby says, "She was

glasses, my porcelain, books at Leicester House and Penshurst, or whatever has been bought with my own, except such things as may be useful to my Lord; and in respect of divers wrought beds, gilt leather hangings, and several other things which have been provided by me, I desire, that if it stand with my Lord's liking, that he will appoint these things for him after his own decease, or that he may have in lieu of them £500 in money; and, because it will be very convenient to my son Henry Sidney's concernment to make what money may be gotten between this and Michaelmas, I desire that Smith and Higgins may be employed to sell these several things to the best advantage: these requests I do recommend to my dear Lord and husband, under my hand and seal,

"D. Leicester,

"10th July, 1659."

kind to him and no more." It is a fact, however, that, besides being the occasion of much public scandal, it led to important results; for the Duke of York, whether really jealous, or pretending to be so, threw off all the restraints and appearances of decency in his own intrigues; and the Duchess, finding that she had lost all hold on the affections of her husband, sought to recover it by adapting herself to his views in matters of religion. She entered into private discourse with his priest, and soon declared herself a Roman Catholic.[1]

Ten years after this, the first Duchess of York having died in the interval, Sidney appears again at Court, having obtained from the King a grant, during his life, of the office of Gentleman and Master of the Robes.[2] In 1678 he had the command

[1] Burnet mentions a curious fact of this Duchess, that "Morley (Bishop of Winchester) had been her father confessor, and that she practised secret confession to him from the time that she was twelve years old." *Mem. de Grammont.* Burnet's *Hist.*, Oxf. Ed., i., 394. *Reresby's Mem.*

[2] The patent is a curious one. "He is appointed Master of the Robes, apparel and other necessaries for the use of the King, his heirs, and successors, to receive £5000 a year out of the exchequer, to the end that provisions incident to the place may be paid for more husbandlike, and bought cheap. £4500 to be paid for the maintenance of the place, and to be accounted for annually."—Collins's *Life of Sidney.*

In writing to his master when in Holland, his steward, Gil-

of a regiment, and in the following year he was appointed Envoy to the States of Holland, having previously declined going as Ambassador to Paris.

In this situation, Sidney remained about two years, high in the favour and affection of the Prince of Orange; during which time he made frequent visits to England, and it is to these periods that the most interesting portions of his journal refer.

During his absence at the Hague, he was elected member for Bramber, in the Parliament which met in October, 1680, and though he does not mention it himself, Rapin states that he took an active part in the great question of the exclusion of the Duke of York, both voting and speaking in favour of

bert Spencer, mentions to him the following privilege which he possessed as incident to his office. "As you are master of his Majesty's Robes, I am told you have the power to name two poor men to appear before the King to have their feet washed on Maundy Thursday; if I knew your honour's pleasure in it, I would appoint Noll and one other poor creature like him to be two; it will be about £3 help to each person." The following amongst many other passages proves that his Majesty was a very indifferent paymaster. "Since my last I have spoken with Mr. Godolphin about your entertainment, and also the robes, to which I had this answer, that money was short, but that they would think of money for you, which was all the answer I got. I conceive, under favour, that your best way would be to write very pressingly for it, and the sooner the better."—See *Journal*.

it. In so doing, he acted in direct opposition to his master's wishes, and we cannot be surprised to find, that when he called upon the King next day he should find him, as he says he did, in a very bad humour. He was allowed, however, to return to the Hague, but the part he afterwards took in forwarding to the government at home the strong memorial of the States upon the rejection of the Bill of Exclusion by the Lords, and which it was generally believed he did at the suggestion of Lord Sunderland,[1] determined his recall. He returned to England in June, 1681, and, contrary to his expectations, was kindly received by the King, with whom probably he was personally a favourite, for

[1] This does not appear, however, to have been the fact. Sir W. Temple says: "They believed it a thing directed and advised from hence, and, in a word, by Lord Sunderland, to Mr. Sidney, his uncle, as a matter that would be of weight to induce the King to pass the bill. But besides that, Lord Sunderland protested to me, after council, that he knew nothing of it, till he received a copy from Mr. Sidney, who sent the original to the secretary. I thought he could not understand the King so ill as to believe that would be a motive to him to pass the bill, or that it could have any other effect than to anger him at the Dutch for meddling in a matter that was domestic not only to the nation but to the crown." It is pretty clear from the Journal that the Prince of Orange was at the bottom of this plan of the Memorial. — Temple's *Works*, ii., 542.

in some of their habits and pursuits they very much resembled each other.[1]

It appears from the Journal that Sidney had applied to the Prince of Orange for the command of the British forces in the service of the States, which had become vacant by the death of the Earl of Ossory; which the Prince would willingly have given him if the appointment were sanctioned by the King. Charles preferred the Duke of Al-

[1] The following letter, from his friend Mr. Thynne, throws some light upon Sidney's pursuits at the Hague.

London, August 22, 79.

Sir,

I cannot let the inclosed, from Mr. Secretary, pass through my hands without giving you an assurance that it is with great satisfaction that I hear of your welfare and safe return to the Hague, which is now a place, I presume, not much more pleasant than London, which is the most solitary that ever I knew, and were not to be endured if it had not the advantage of Lady Selwyn's company. I hear that you have likewise found some conversation among the English ladies, which, though it yield you some satisfaction and entertainment, affords no great divertisement to the Count, your rival, who I suppose is not ignorant of your power among the ladies. I suppose you are as idle at this time as myself, or else should not presume to write this to a Public Minister, but it is because this place affords nothing more serious, unless it be the profession with which I declare myself, Sir,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

H. Thynne.

bemarle, and proposed him to the Prince in the following letter.

"Whitehall, 8th December, 1682.

"I have formerly proposed a thing to you in which I am every day more confirmed in my opinion as a thing which in many respects is necessary to be done, and therefore I think it proper now to renew to you. It is to have a Commander in Chief of all my subjects who are or who shall be in the service of the States. I am satisfied it will tend to their better discipline and obedience; that it is for my honour and dignity, as well as for that of the nation, and that it will be advantageous to you in particular, in order to your greater influence upon them, to have such men from time to time set at the head of them, as shall make it their business to be serviceable to you; besides, you will find that either in case of recruits or other levies of men in England, it will be no small encouragement for men to go over when it shall be known that a man of quality and interest here is to have the immediate commandment of them under you, and by that the opportunity of access to you, to do them right upon all occasions that shall arise.

"Of this the late Lord Ossory is a very good

instance, and you find so good an effect of the credit he had both here and amongst the men under his command, that I need no other argument to convince you of how good use it will be to have that place filled as it ought to be. The man I think upon is the Duke of Albemarle, who hath all the qualifications that are necessary, to make himself to succeed the other, who was so well approved by every body, and particularly by yourself. If it should be said that the States will not be ready to do it because it may draw some charge upon them, that objection might very well be answered, yet to take it off entirely, I am content there should be neither pay nor salary tied to the place, but that whosoever hath it shall discharge it upon their own expense, without expecting any thing more than the name and character of commander under you of the English, with the same powers that were enjoyed by the late Lord Ossory.

"I do not doubt but you will be of my opinion when you have well considered it, so as I will say no more but to assure you that I will ever be yours,

"C. R."[1]

---

[1] Original Letter.

The Prince of Orange, however, was not of the same opinion with the King; and what is more extraordinary, considering the relative positions of the three parties, did confer the command upon Sidney, who certainly continued to hold it till he was deprived of it by James, a few months after his accession.

We are told by Collins, that on the day of that King's coronation, when the crown was accidentally about to fall from his head, (a fact that has been stated by several writers,) Sidney stepped forward to fix it there, saying, that it was not the first time that a Sidney had supported the crown. Whether this be true or not, certain it is that, before three years had passed away, no hand in England was more zealously engaged to tear it from his brow, and place it on that of another.

Though deprived by James of the command of the British forces in Holland, he does not appear at that time to have distrusted him, for, after the defeat of Monmouth, he was sent back with Bentinck to the Prince of Orange:[1] but this confidence

[1] "Sidney was sent with Bentinck into Holland, a choice which seemed to indicate an extraordinary deference to the wishes of the Prince, and was considered in Holland as a decisive mark of a good understanding between the two governments."—Mackintosh's *His. Rev.* p. 356.

did not last long. The decided favour of the Prince soon rendered his continued stay in England something more than painful and irksome to him; and Burnet says, "he was so apprehensive of the dangers that he might be cast into, that he travelled nearly a whole year in Italy."

As matters however ripened in England, and prepared the way for the Prince of Orange, Sidney moved nearer to the scene of action, and fixed himself in Holland. He became the chief agent of communication with the disaffected in England, and the great promoter of the Revolution. Notwithstanding which, he hazarded a return to England so late as June, 1688, when he wrote the letter to the Prince, advising him to secure the services of Mareschal Schomberg; and he accompanied Zuleystein, who had been sent to congratulate the King on the birth of the Prince of Wales, on his return to the Hague. It was upon this occasion that he carried with him the invitation and declaration of adherence to the Prince, signed by the members of the Association, which consisted of the Earls of Shrewsbury and Devonshire, Lord Lumley, the Bishop of London, Admiral Russel, and himself.

Sidney, with Burnet, Herbert, Schomberg, and

others, accompanied the expedition into England, and, upon its successful termination, the honours and rewards which he had earned by his great services in the cause were lavished upon him by a generous master. The day after the proclamation of the King and Queen, he was appointed one of the Privy Council and Gentleman of the Bedchamber; soon afterwards he was made Colonel of the King's regiment of foot-guards, and upon the coronation of William and Mary he was created Viscount Sidney and Baron Milton; and in the following year he was appointed Lord Lieutenant, Vice-Admiral, and Commissary of the County of Kent.[1]

He accompanied the King in his campaign in Ireland, and was with him at the battle of the Boyne; and, on the King's leaving that country, he was made one of the Lords Justices of Ireland. Soon afterwards he was recalled, and appointed one of the chief Secretaries of State, having, if Lord Dartmouth is correct in his statement, received grants of the confiscated estates in that country to the value of seventeen thousand pounds a year.[2]

[1] Collins's Life of Henry Sidney.

[2] Note to Burnet, iv. 425.

In 1692 he was again sent as Lord Lieutenant-General and Governor to Ireland, a post of great difficulty, in the management of which he seems to have entirely failed. Burnet says, "that a Parliament had been summoned there by the Lord Sidney, but they met full of discontent, and were disposed to find fault with every thing; and there was too much matter to work upon, for the Lord Lieutenant was apt to excuse or justify those who had the address to insinuate themselves into his favour,[1] so that they were dismissed before they

[1] Burnet mentions an instance of this, in which he was counteracted by "the pious care" of Queen Mary. "The state of Ireland leads us to insert here a very particular instance of the Queen's pious care in the disposing of bishopricks. Lord Sidney was so far engaged in the interest of a great family in Ireland, that he was too easily wrought on to recommend a branch of it to a vacant see. The representation was made with an undue character of the person, so the Queen granted it. But when she understood that he lay under a very bad character, she wrote a letter in her own hand to Lord Sidney, letting him know what she had heard, and ordered him to call for six Irish bishops, whom she named to him, and to require them to certify to her their opinion of that person. They all agreed that he laboured under an ill fame, and till that was examined into, they did not think it proper to promote him; so that matter was let fall. I do not name the person, for I intend not to leave a blemish upon him, but set this down as an example, fit to be imitated by Christian princes."—iv. 209.

brought their Bills to perfection. The English in Ireland thought the Government favoured the Irish too much; some said this was the effect of bribery, whereas others thought it was necessary to keep them safe from the persecutions of the English who hated them, and were much sharpened against them. * * * * There were also great complaints of an ill administration, chiefly in the revenue, in the pay of the army, and in the embezzling of stores. * * * * * So the King called back Lord Sidney, and put the government into the hands of three Lords Justices, Lord Capel, Sir Cecil Wyche, and Mr. Duncomb."

Sidney's ill success in Ireland was no bar to his further honours. Upon his return he was made Master-General of the Ordnance; and in the following year he was created Earl of Romney, and Lieutenant-General of the Forces; and, on the resignation of the Earl of Portland, Groom of the Stole and first Gentleman of the Bedchamber.[1]

Burnet, speaking of Sidney, describes him as "a graceful man, and one who had lived long in the Court, where he had some adventures that became very public. He was a man of a sweet and caressing temper, had no malice in his heart, but too

[1] Collins's Life of Sidney.

great a love of pleasure." This sweet and caressing temper, combined with great personal attractions, produced their full effect; and there are many proofs, in the present collection of papers, of the influence they gave him over the hearts of women; of which influence he appears to have been withheld by no principle from taking every advantage.

The adventures referred to by Burnet, that became very public at Court, besides his reported intrigue, when quite a young man, with the Duchess of York, and to which allusion is made in a letter of Montague's in this collection, appear to relate chiefly to the case of a Mrs. Worthley, a person of an ancient family and highly connected, who, unfortunately for herself, upon the death of her husband, fell in Sidney's way, and lived with him as his mistress for twenty years. At length, deserted and in distress, having in vain applied to Sidney, she threw herself at the feet both of Charles and James, and published her case and her injuries to the world.

From among many of her letters of appeal to him, the two following have been selected as written in a milder and quieter spirit of remonstrance than many others.

"June 18th, 1689.

"My Lord,

"I wish some good angel would instruct my pen to express something that would incline your Lordship to moderate your hate towards me that have loved you only too well, and would increase that slender portion of love you have for your own honour.

"Could your Lordship make cripples of my tongue and pen, by confining me to a jail, as well as my limbs, you might then hope for a conquest; but, my Lord, though I am perfectly lame, and have in a manner quite lost the use of my limbs, yet my pen will never lose its vigour, nor will my tongue be silent. How happy should I now esteem myself if I could say or do any thing that would make you reassume your former good-nature! but do not misconstrue me, my Lord; I mean only that part of your good-nature that would oblige you to do what is reasonable, and not to return to your embraces. Your Lordship must pardon me if I still am perfectly yours without desiring your conversation. I am the best-natured fool living, but it is not to that degree as to be a silent fool neither. I would willingly, if your Lordship pleases, take a little fresh air between this time and Michaelmas, and

all that at present I desire your Lordship to do is to let me have half a year's money next Monday. You know that I have lately begged that you would be pleased to send me a £100 to pay some small debts, ...

" Pray, my dear Lord, do not deny me so poor a business as a little money now at Midsummer, for fear it may again transport me to do something that will go very much against the grain with me to do towards the man that in my soul I do adore and still love too well. I wish I did not. I am sure you never loved money well enough to deny me or any body any reasonable sum out of a meanly miserable esteem for dross, but you have no other way to be revenged on me but to strip me naked and confine me; but, my Lord, how poor and how ignoble a revenge is this of yours to me, a poor, deluded woman, that hath loved you above myself, nay, above heaven or honour, and hath generously spent my youth with you in discontent and suffering! Whereas I might have had plenty and ease with others; and, if my too great confidence in your great worth and honour and generosity has betrayed me to irrecoverable ruin, yet, my Lord, you must certainly pity me, though you hate me: but I will not yet despair but that I may live to

hear my Lord Sidney say, that he hates himself because he hated her, without any just cause, who is sincerely yours,

" G. WORTHLEY.

" P. S. My Lord, though there was too much noise in King Charles's[1] and King James's Court, let

[1] " To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

" The humble Petition of Grace Worthley,

" Sheweth that your Petitioner, having tried with all submissions upon her knees to Mr. Sidney to induce him to do those things that are but her due from him, both by his word and numbers of solemn promises, can prevail nothing with him more than that he will have her banished the town, which she never will submit to, and is fallen from four score pounds a year to fifty. So that your Petitioner is afraid to go a hundred and fifty miles off, only upon his bare word, for so poor a pension; but is resolved to starve in town, if neither your Majesty will be her friend with Mr. Sidney, or the law will give her nothing.

" Your Majesty's poor unfortunate Petitioner has been informed that Mr. Sidney has abused her to your Majesty; but, to prove how false all his abuses, or at least his informers, are—Your Petitioner had a husband, that, out of the great zeal he bore to his Royal Highness, your Majesty's dear brother, went with him to sea in the Dutch war that happened in the sickness year, and there got his death, as can be made appear by the people of the house where he left your disconsolate Petitioner, who are yet alive, and where I continued till within five weeks of my being brought acquainted with Mr. Sidney.

" May it therefore please your Majesty both to judge and

me humbly beg of your Lordship not to be, by your continued cruelty to her (who is not envious, but happy in seeing you so), the author of any new noise in King William's and Queen Mary's Court; for I assure your Lordship I do not desire it, for I am now wholly inclined to peace, love, and Christian amity. I hope you do not forget your hopeful son in Holland; and that you had my letter, with the inclosed bill, that came to me from him."

"July 6th, 1694.

"My Lord,

"My creditors' unreasonable proposals, which I hope Colonel Fitz Patrick has acquainted you with, have obliged me to withdraw from London for the present, till I know what your Lordship would have me to do; and I wish you would consider that you must one day come to die, and that it will be too late when you come to lie upon a deathbed to wish you had been more kind and considerate of my sufferings for so many years together, and

to plead the righteous cause of the distressed and the innocent, as you in your Princely power and equity shall think meet. And your Petitioner, as in duty bound, shall ever pray for your Majesty."

that now I must abscond or else bring your name upon the public stage, which you, if you please, may see I am very unwilling to do. I must now beg of your Lordship to order me another quarter's money, or I must return to London sooner than I am willing.

"How I wish I were to accompany King William in his progress into Cheshire; that I might once before I die make a visit to the good old wooden house at Stoak, within three miles of Nantwich, where I was born and bred; and, if your Lordship does attend on the King in his progress, let me beg of you to make a step to Stoak; 'tis but fourteen miles from West Chester, and I hear the King goes to Chester. You will find my cousin, Edward Mynshull, will give you a very generous entertainment, and so will my cousin, Sir Thomas Mainwaring, of Badelly; and Stanley, of Houghton; and Chemley, of Vale Royal; and forty more of my relatives there, if you please to do them the honour of visiting their innocent, clownish habitations; and when you have viewed Stoak Hall, where I was born (for so it is vulgarly called), then I must beg of your Lordship to tell me whether you don't think it was an agreeable portion for me to be attended from your door by a Constable and

a Beadle.[1] Gaysworth, too, will be able to entertain you—that was my great grandfather's: but my Lord Macclesfield complains that the old house is ready to fall upon his head. I love Gaysworth,

[1] It is possible the Beadle and the Constable may have been very necessary guards upon the occasion alluded to; for this lady had a spirit which, when roused, made her very formidable. The following letter to her cousin, Lord Brandon, is a proof of this —

" Sept. 7th, —82.

" My Lord,

" I am sorry I have any occasion to give you trouble, but much more to hear that you and Mr. Sidney are not good friends, for I am sure he has ever loved and honoured you: but, my Lord, all the things in this world are fickle and inconstant as fortune herself; but I was a little afflicted to hear Mr. Sidney say he believes I was bribed to go to Whitehall, and that he suspected you set me to work; to which I only answered, that I never had the honour yet to see your face, and that I did not know whether you had a face or no * * * I am sorry Mr. Sidney is so credulous as to believe all the idle inventions of malicious people against me and my son, which, if he were not perfectly blind, he might see is only pure spite and malice. He treats me with a great deal of cruelty, which I think is very severe, first to have spent my precious youth so dismally as I have done, and now, for a reward of all my sufferings, to be abused and despised, and my son rejected, as if he were none of his, and all this to please his great Mistress; but he will find I have more than an ordinary soul, and, though I cannot manage a sword, a pistol I can; and, if he does not think good to make me some better satisfaction for the many years of my youth which he has obliged me to spend with him, I shall pistol him and be hanged for him, which I had rather

because my mother was born there. I remember you told me you had been at Brewerton Green. I like Stoak as well—you will find my Lady Brewerton and her daughters at the good old house on Brewerton Green—the young ladies live there like nuns. I wish Queen Mary would make them courtiers, and I wish your Lordship would incline to do what is reasonable by me, that I might go into Cheshire and there end my days. I should enjoy more happiness in one month in Cheshire than I have done in all the twenty-five years I have misspent in London.

do than sit still and starve, or be any longer a laughing-stock for any of Mr. Kirke's bastards. This you may sincerely believe from her who is, my Lord, the humblest of your servants,

"GRACE WORTHLEY."

On another occasion she treats certain warrants with which he had threatened her with singular disrespect. She tells him "I will make madder work than ever I have done yet, and, if it must come to that, I shall not be afraid of your taking me up with your own warrant, by virtue of your being a Privy Councillor, as your man, George Watson, every quarter, when he pays me your plentiful allowance of £12. 10s., sends me word you will; but, if you please, you may send your warrants to the common Countess of Oxford and her adulterous bastards, to be employed as all such warrants ought to be, and which, for good manners' sake, I omit to tell you how."

"My Lord, I wish you a pleasant progress, and that you may meet with as much satisfaction as you desire. And if your Lordship will please to order me a £100 as I have desired, it will be a satisfaction to me to pay poor people that want bread.

"If, my Lord, you will be so kind as to make a visit to Stoak, pray ask my cousin Ned Mynshull whether the heir of Pool be likely to outlive me or not, for if he were dead the estate comes to me, and, though it be but £400 a year, yet it will be acceptable to me, if it be but to pay her debts who is sincerely yours till death,

"G. WORTHLEY."

This is among the latest of the series of her letters, and there is no further light thrown upon the history of this poor lady. Lord Romney himself survived his master and benefactor William about two years. He died of the smallpox, on the 8th of April, 1704, and was buried in St. James's Church.

In point of abilities it would appear that the Earl of Romney, high and important as were many of the offices which he filled, was not rated high by his cotemporaries. Swift speaks of him, as he always does of those who had offended him, which

was his case, with scurrilous abuse. He calls him "an idle, drunken, ignorant rake, without sense, truth, or honour;" but such testimony is worthless. Neither is the opinion of his brother Algernon Sidney, who spoke of him in disparaging terms to Barillon,[1] and who, from his over-estimate of himself, looked down with contempt upon all others,[2] much to be relied upon, but that of Lord Dartmouth is, who gives the following curious account of Lord Romney's appointment to be Secretary of State. "When he was made Secretary of State, the Duke

[1] Barillon, speaking of Algernon Sidney, in a letter to Louis XIV., says he is on bad terms with his brother, who is in Holland, and laughs at the Court for making use of him as a negociation.—Dalrymple's *Memoirs*, i., 339.

[2] When Sidney's large book upon Government came out in the reign of King William, Sir W. Temple asked me if I had seen it. I told him I had read it all once. He could not help admiring at my patience, but desired to know what I thought of it. I said it seemed to me to be wrote with a design to destroy all Government. Sir William answered, "that was for want of knowing the author, for there was one passage in it that explained the whole, which was this. 'If there be any such thing as divine right, it must be where one man is better qualified to govern another, than he is to govern himself.' Such a person seems to be designed by God and nature to govern the other for his benefit and happiness." Now, I, that knew him very well, can assure you that he looked upon himself to be that very man so qualified to govern the rest of all mankind.—Lord Dartmouth's *Note* to Burnet's *Hist.*, ii., 341.

of Leeds told me he happened to go into the King's closet soon after he came out, and the King asked him if he had seen the new Secretary. The Duke answered no, he met nobody but my Lord Romney, little thinking he could be the man. The King told him he knew he would laugh at his being so, but he could not think of a proper person at present, and knew he was the only Englishman he could put in and out again without disobliging him. The Duke said he did not laugh before, but could not forbear when he heard he was to be at the Secretary's office like a footman at a play, to keep a place till his betters came."[1]

As far as we can judge from his own journal, and the opinion of cotemporaries, Sidney showed no want of energy or ability when Minister at the Hague; and subsequently, as the great channel of correspondence with the Prince of Orange, if suc-

[1] Lord Dartmouth's *Note*, iv., 8. In this collection there is the following agreeable letter, without a name or the date of the year, directed to the Honourable Mr. Sidney, at his house in Jermin Street, London.

"You have very honest principles between man and man, but so corrupted and pernicious to religion and loyalty, that without you soon make your peace with God and the King after this 27th of January, you have not many days to live. Make use of this friendly caution, and repent before repentance is in vain."

cess be any proof of good management and address, nothing could have been better done. And in his public character generally it is no small merit in him to have pursued an honest, straightforward, and consistent course, in times when, with the exception of Sir William Temple, and very few others, duplicity and corruption were the order of the day.

The next in order of birth in this series of correspondents is Robert, the second Earl of Sunderland, the nephew of Henry Sidney: a name better known to history than that of the Earl of Romney. He was born in 1641, and was only one year younger than his uncle, and succeeded when a child to the title and estates of his father, who was killed at the battle of Newbury.

The young Earl of Sunderland was sent to Oxford, and was resident there in 1660. Among other friendships formed there, he became very intimate with the celebrated William Penn. Whether he attended with him the preaching of Thomas Loe, the layman and Quaker, for which the latter was fined for non-conformity, does not appear, but he was certainly engaged with him in a riot, into

which Penn was led by his zeal against what he considered Popish practices, and for which he, with several others, including probably the Earl of Sunderland, was expelled.[1]

Much of the earlier part of his life was passed in travelling on the continent, under the care of Dr. Pierce,[2] preparing himself for those diplomatic employments in which he was afterwards much en-

[1] "An order came down from Charles II., that the surplice should be worn according to the custom of ancient times. It was an unusual sight at that university * * *. William Penn, who conceived that the simplicity and spirituality of the Christian religion would be destroyed by the introduction of outward ceremonies and forms, could not bear it. Engaging, therefore, his friend Robert Spencer and some other young gentlemen to join him, he fell upon those students who appeared in surplices, and they tore them over their heads. The college took it up, and Penn and several of his associates were expelled."—Clarkson's *Life of Penn.*

[2] This Dr. Pierce became afterwards Rector of Brington, in Northamptonshire. In a letter addressed to his patron, the Dowager Lady Sunderland, he thus speaks, both of his pupil and his own preferment. "It has cost me a sequestration from your Ladyship's presence, and from the immediate pleasure which I enjoyed in the education of your son, whose choice rudiments of nature, having been properly seasoned and crowned with grace, gave him such a willingness and aptitude to be taught, as reconciled my greatest pains with ease and pleasure. So that the education of my dear Lord was not so much an employment as it was my recreation and reward."—Kennet's *Reg.*, 216.

gaged. His first public appointment was that of Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of Spain, whither he went in 1671, with instructions if possible to attach that power to the interests of England, or, at all events, to secure her neutrality, in which object he failed. He was next sent Ambassador to Paris, and afterwards as one of the Plenipotentiaries at Cologne, for the establishment of a general peace. He returned to England in 1674, when he was made a Privy Councillor. Five years afterwards he went a second time to Paris as Envoy, and, upon his return home, he was appointed by Charles one of his principal Secretaries of State.

His character, including a sketch of his political life, has been thus ably drawn by Sir James Mackintosh :—

" Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, who soon acquired the chief ascendency in the administration, entered upon public life with all the advantages of birth and fortune. His father fell in the royal army, at the battle of Newbury, with those melancholy forebodings of danger from the victory of his own party, which filled the breasts of the more generous royalists, and which on the same occasion saddened the dying moments of Lord Falkland. His mother was Lady Dorothy Sidney, celebrated

by Waller under the name of Saccharissa. He was early employed in diplomatic missions, where he acquired the political knowledge, insinuating address, and polished manners which are learnt in that school; together with the subtlety, dissimulation, flexibility of principle, indifference on questions of constitutional policy, and impatience of the restraints of popular government, which have been sometimes contracted by English Ambassadors, in the course of a long intercourse with the Ministers of absolute Princes. A faint and superficial preference of the general principles of civil liberty was blended in a manner not altogether unusual with his diplomatic vices.

"He seems to have gained the support of the Duchess of Portsmouth to the administration formed by the advice of Sir William Temple, and to have then gained the confidence of that incomparable person, who possessed all the honest acts of a negotiator. He gave an early earnest of the inconstancy of an over-refined character, by fluctuating between the exclusion of the Duke of York and the limitations of the royal prerogative. He was removed from the administration for his vote on the Bill of Exclusion. The love of office soon prevailed over his feeble spirit of independence, and

he made his peace with the Court by the medium of the Duchess of Portsmouth, who found no difficulty in reconciling the King to a polished as well as a pliant courtier, an accomplished negotiator, and a minister more versed in foreign affairs than any of his colleagues.

"Negligence and profusion bound him to office by stronger though coarser ties than those of ambition. He lived in an age when a delicate purity in pecuniary matters had not begun to have a general influence on statesmen, and when a sense of personal honour, growing out of long habits of co-operation and friendship, had not yet contributed to secure them against political inconstancy. He was one of the most distinguished of a species of men who perform a part more important than noble in great events, who, by powerful talents, captivating manners, and accommodating opinions, by a quick discernment of critical moments in the rise and fall of parties, by not deserting a cause till the instant before it is universally believed to be desperate, and by a command of expedients and connexions, which render them valuable to every new possessor of power, find means to cling to office, or to recover it, and who, though they are the natural offspring

of quiet and refinement, often creep through stormy revolutions without being crushed.

"Like the best and most prudent of his class, he appears not to have betrayed the secrets of his friends whom he abandoned; and never to have complied with more evil than was necessary to keep his power. His temper was without rancour; he must be acquitted of prompting or even preferring the cruel acts which were perpetrated under his administration; deep designs and premeditated treachery were irreconcileable both with his indolence and his impetuosity; and there is some reason to believe that, in the midst of total indifference about religious opinions, he retained to the end some degree of that preference for civil liberty, which he might have derived from the example of his ancestors and the sentiments of some of his early connexions."[1]

Such is the character, and it is a very favourable one, drawn by a master hand, of this nobleman, who, by the adoption of measures involving a total want of either religious or political principle, combined with great talents, made himself almost essential as Minister to three successive Kings. The charge which presses most heavily against

[1] Mackintosh's *Hist. Rev.*

him is that of treachery to James, who distinctly accuses him of having driven him upon those wild and arbitrary measures which caused his ruin,[1] with the intention of ruining him, whilst, through the medium of his wife and his uncle Henry Sidney, he had previously secured the favour of the Prince of Orange.

The Earl of Sunderland, on the other hand, in his letter of justification,[2] published after he fled to Holland, states in vindication of himself that he opposed to the utmost all those measures, and only acquiesced in them when it was hopeless to resist.[3] There can be no credit, however, given to these

[1] "The drift of that letter (Sunderland's letter of justification) being to reconcile himself to the people, he most falsely pretended to have constantly opposed all those measures which are now so much railed against, whereas in reality he did not only approve of them, but generally ran before the rest. He would often times, indeed, try the ford by his secret agents, Sir Nicholas Butler, Mr. Lob, and even Father Petre himself, that he might seem only to oppose those dangerous methods which had their origin from him alone." — *Life of James II.*, 283.

[2] See Letter in the Appendix.

[3] "Neither is it an excuse that I have got none of those things which usually engage men in public affairs. My quality is the same it ever was, and my estate much worse, even ruined, though I was born to a very considerable one, which I am ashamed to have spoyled, though not so much as if I had increased it by indirect means."

statements, when we find him in the same letter asserting that he had never increased his fortune by indirect means, when it is now notorious that he received an annual pension of 25,000 crowns, besides occasional gratuities from Louis XIV.;[1] and we find him in another letter, written about the same time to William, pleading as a claim to his favour that he had served the public very importantly in contributing what lay in his power to that glorious undertaking, which drove his old master from the throne.[2]

[1] For the recall of the English troops from Holland, who would have interfered with Louis's views, he received a good sum. Nothing could be more explicit than his terms. "Si le rappel des troupes de Hollande, dit il convient aux intérêts de la France, j'ay tout le credit necessaire pour l'obtenir. Mais un tel service merite une récompense proportionnée au peril de celui qui l'auroit procuré. Dans les affaires d'importance il faut s'expliquer nettement, et savoir à quoi s'en tenir." —Barillon.

[2] "Many who remained at Court could scarce contain showing to the world their inward pleasure at this occasion (the defection of James's troops); for, the express arriving just as his Majesty was going to dinner, his concern was too great to think of any thing but how to remedy the comfortless situation of affairs. So, calling for a piece of bread and a glass of wine, he went immediately to consult what measures were fittest to be taken. At which time the Lords Sunderland, Churchil, and Godolphin, instead of compationating at least the anguish of so kind and bountiful a master, were seen unawares going hand in hand along the gallery in the greatest transport of joy imaginable."—*Life of James II.*, 218.

Upon the advance of the Prince of Orange to Windsor, the flight of the King and the breaking out of the people into riots, destroying the Roman Catholic Chapels, and attacking the houses of Papists, Lord Sunderland fled, disguised, it is said, in woman's clothes to Holland,[1] where he appears to have lived some time in great discomfort. This, however, did not last very long, for, though he was expressly excepted from the Bill of Indemnity, we find him not only returned to England in 1691, but, soon afterwards, though not the declared yet the actual Prime Minister of William. "The person," says Burnet, "that had the King's confidence to the highest degree was the Earl of Sunderland, who, by his long experience and his knowledge of men and things, had gained an ascendant over him, and had more credit with him than any Englishman ever had." He gave him a pension of £2,000 a year. He visited him at Althorpe in his way to the north, "which was the first public mark of the high favour he was in," and soon afterwards gave him the Lord Chamberlain's staff. This, however, was the signal for a general attack upon him.

[1] Evelyn *Mem.* i., 660. Reresby, 372. Lady Sunderland denies, though very equivocally, the fact of the disguise.—See Letter.

"The Tories," says Burnet, "pressed hard upon him, and the Whigs were so jealous of him, that he, apprehending that, while the former would attack him, the others would defend him faintly, resolved to prevent a public affront, and to retire from Court and from business, contrary to the earnest desire of the King." The following account of the manner of his resigning, and of his reasons for doing so, is given in a letter from Secretary Vernon to Lord Sunderland's friend, the Duke of Shrewsbury.[1]

[1] The following account of this transaction is given in a note to Burnet's *Hist.*—"The King had given ten thousand pounds to the Earl of Dorset to quit the Chamberlain's staff, and gave it to the Earl of Sunderland, upon which Lord Norris fell very violently upon him in the House of Commons, as a man whose actions had been so scandalous during his whole life, that he never had any one to excuse one crime, but by accusing himself of another. Therefore he hoped they would address his Majesty to remove him from his presence and council, which, though not seconded, was universally well received.

"Some of his friends told him they had computed how the numbers would run in the House of Commons upon any address that should be moved for there against him, and that they did not think there would be more than 160 for it. '160,' said he for it, 'that's more than any man can stand against long; I am sure I won't;' and so resigned the next day, but the King continued to advise with him in private upon all his affairs. To confirm this anecdote, and to show

January 6th, 1698.

"I make the more haste to acknowledge the honour of your Grace's letter of the 25th, because I would not delay acquainting you that my Lord Sunderland would not stop to be addressed from Court, and therefore last night he delivered up his key and staff. He was with the King about a quarter of an hour before the Cabinet sate; and when he

the haste he was in to put himself out of this danger, Lord Hardwicke told me that in a conversation he had with the Duke of Somerset about this Earl of Sunderland, the Duke said that, upon the apprehension of this attack in the House of Commons, the Earl desired the Duke and Lord Chief Justice Holt, both of them his most particular friends, to give him a meeting, to consult with them what he should do upon the occasion, either to retire, or to stand to it. The appointment was for the evening before the day, as he was told, (after the appointment) the attempt was to be made, and the address to be moved for, and they came accordingly, but found the Earl was gone to the King at Kensington. He left word, however, that he begged them to stay, for he would be back very soon, and he was so. When they met, the Earl fell into other discourse with them, and, whilst he was talking, Holt observed he had not the key upon his coat, and, interrupting, said, 'My Lord, where is your key?' 'At Kensington,' said the Earl. 'Why so quick, my Lord,' replied the Chief Justice, 'you might have stayed till to-morrow.' 'To-morrow, my lord,' said the Earl, 'to-morrow would have ruined me, to night has saved me,' and so told them what he heard was the design, and that he knew the King must have submitted to it."—Note of Lord Dartmouth, Burnet's *Hist.*, iv., 369.

came out of the closet, he took me down to his lodgings, and said that he had pressed the King that he might resign, not being able to bear any longer the life he had led * * * * *

"I begged only that he would suspend his resolution till the next day * * * He was unalterably fixed to hear no more of it, and never to meddle with that or any other public employment * * * * He said it was not on account of the Parliament only that he came to this resolution, for he had otherwise led the life of a dog, having done all that was in his power for the service of a party, whom he would never oblige to live easily with him or to treat him with common civility.

"The King is very much concerned at his going off; he hath been keeping it there three Sundays successively, and all endeavours used to turn him from it. The King finds himself in great want of some one he may be free with * * * * I cannot but be concerned at these changes, and do not see what good consequences they may have. This was certainly an able and active man, and I believe it was not impossible to remove the jealousies that were taken on both sides. How far he will act in future behind the curtain, I know not; but his inclinations, I fear, are wholly turned from any thing that can be called Whig."

How strong those feelings of jealousy and suspicion were, may be collected from the words in which Admiral Russel, writing to the Duke of Shrewsbury two years before, speaks of a visit with which Lord Sunderland had threatened him.

"1696. I am under some pain about the honour designed me by a great Lord. I confess my fault and folly, that I cannot bring my tongue and countenance to seem satisfied with a man I am not, but I will do as well as I can. It is an old saying that 'when the fox is abroad, look to your lambs.' No man is ever secure from his tricks; but he can play none that are very prejudicial, if he be not too much trusted and relied upon." And Montague, first Lord of the Treasury in 1698, alluding to a financial struggle in which he had succeeded, says, "this contest and some other accidents have freed us from a companion that was intended for us, who would have been worse than all this, but I think we are got clear of that fire-ship for ever. If he annoys us now, it must be by hoisting the enemies' colours, and under that declaration I do not fear him."[1]

Vernon's opinion of Lord Sunderland's ability, and his concern at the loss of him, were justified by

[1] Shrewsbury Papers.

the event. Burnet says that "during the time of his credit, things had been carried on with more spirit and better success than before. He had gained such an ascendant over the king, that he brought him to agree to some things that few expected he would have yielded to, and managed the public affairs in both houses with so much steadiness and so good a conduct, that he had procured to himself a greater measure of esteem than he had in any former parts of his life; and the feebleness and disjointed state we fell into after he withdrew contributed not a little to establish the character which his administration had gained him."[1]

Disappointed with the world, and indignant at what he deemed the ingratitude of his party, Lord

[1] Among other good acts of his, it appears from a statement of the Duchess of Marlborough that his good offices were employed, and successfully, in reconciling William and the Princess Anne. "I never heard of any body that opposed this reconciliation, except the Earl of Portland; but the person who wholly managed the affair between the King and the Princess was my Lord Sunderland. He had upon all occasions relating to her showed himself a man of sense and breeding, and, before there was any thought of the Queen's dying, had designed to use his influence to make up the breach, in which, however, I am persuaded he could not have succeeded during the Queen's life. Her death made it easy for him to bring the King to a reconcilement." — *Account of the Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough.*

Sunderland retired to Althorpe, from whence he wrote to the Duchess of Shrewsbury—"I can say, with exact truth, that, for five or six years that I have had the honour to be near the King, I have assisted the party I joined, and every individual man of that party, according to my dealing with them, to the best of my understanding; but if nineteen things are done and the twentieth left undone, though it is impossible, you know, how it is; and yet my politics are not changed, nor shall they." That they would have changed, however, had he been allowed an opportunity of showing them, can scarcely be doubted, as was the case with other friends of his, of whom he writes — "I am informed that some of the House of Commons who usually were thought to be influenced by me, have gone wrong of late, in particular Sir W. Trumbull, Mr. Duncombe, and Mr. Methuen. For the two first, I think people need only consider one moment the difference between men in good places and good-humour, and out of them angry and unsatisfied. I believe nobody has seen or heard of any in these circumstances that have not changed a good deal."[1] Lord Sunderland had seen a good deal of the world and of mankind, but with all this knowledge he must have been very ignorant of him-

[1] Letter to the Duke of Shrewsbury, January, 1698.

self when he imagined that he could be happy in the retirement of Althorpe.

Two short months served to undeceive him; and we find him, in the month of March, preparing the way for his return to the King's service. He writes —"My judgment and my inclinations are still the same, but I submit both to the King, who was more displeased and angry at what I did than I imagined, and took it with less indifferency in relation to his affairs than I could have thought without presumption, which obliged me, who owe him so much, to be disposed of as he pleases, provided that he gives me leave to serve him as a Privy Councillor only without a place, which would now be insupportably ridiculous, after having quitted one so lately."[1] He came to London in July; but, so far from finding that encouragement from his old friends, the Whigs, which he expected, the animosity of every party immediately revived, and was carried to such a height, that William, who had just returned from the continent, requested him to retire again into the country, though anxious to remain in London on account of the approaching marriage of his son with Lady Anne Churchill, the second daughter of the Earl of Marlborough.

[1] Letter to the Duke of Shrewsbury.—Shrewsbury Papers. 535.

Thus ended the political life of the Earl of Sunderland; and, from his own experience of its miseries and discomforts, his estimate of a statesman's life was not probably very different from that of the Duke of Shrewsbury, who says, in a letter to Lord Somers, written from Rome in 1701—"Had I a son, I would sooner breed him a cobbler than a courtier, and a hangman than a statesman."[1]

Convinced at last that it was quite impossible to conquer the suspicion and dislike of all parties, the consequence of his previous conduct, Lord Sunderland submitted without further effort; and the following passage, in a letter from his friend the secretary Vernon, written in 1700, about two years before his death, shows the melancholy condition to which he was reduced in his latter days, and the state of public feeling towards him.

"I don't know what my Lord Sunderland will do upon my summons for his coming to town; but by what he writ to me yesterday, of the 13th instant, I perceive he had then no thoughts of leaving the country. His expressions are, that he had resolved a great while against coming to town; of late he had met with many things to confirm those thoughts and nothing to change them; that a man

[1] Shrewsbury Correspondence.

out of employment, without a party, of no credit, pretending to nothing, and of his age, must be mad, if he would begin the world anew. He hopes the King and government will be safe by leaving all things to the Parliament. If my Lord Sunderland comes up, it is certain that whatever is done or left undone will be attributed to him. What is disliked, he shall hear of over and over; and if any thing hits right to some people's wishes, they will like the counsel but hate the counsellor."[1]

The Earl of Sunderland died in the year 1702, in the 61st year of his age.

Anne, Countess of Sunderland, the wife of the Earl, whose history has been just sketched,[2] and whose letters form an important part of this col-

[1] Shrewsbury Correspondence.

[2] They were married in 1663. Pepys tells a strange story, which was probably the mere gossip of the day, of some difficulty which delayed though it did not prevent the marriage. Speaking of Lord Bristol, he says, "I hear also of another difficulty now upon him, that my Lord Sunderland, whom I do not know, was so near to the marriage of his daughter, as that the wedding-clothes were made, and portion and every thing agreed upon and ready. And the other day he goes away, nobody yet knows whither, sending the next morning a release of his right and claim to her, and advice to his friends not to inquire into the reason of this doing, for he hath enough of it, and that he gives them liberty to say and think what

lection, was the second daughter of the Earl of Bristol; her mother was Lady Anne Russel, daughter of the second Earl of Bedford, described by Evelyn as "a grave and honourable lady."

She was the intimate friend of two men of very different characters, Henry Sidney and Evelyn; and it is to one or other of these parties that the letters now published are directed. It will be seen that the style and tone of these letters vary nearly as much as did the characters of those to whom she wrote; so that if by any chance in writing to her friends she had misdirected their respective letters, that which would probably have much amused the one would have rather surprised and perplexed the other.

No one, perhaps, has ever been more differently represented by cotemporaries than this Lady Sunderland. If we trust to Evelyn's testimony, she must have been a very admirable person. Speaking of Althorpe, he says—"Above all this, it is governed by a lady who, without any show of solicitude, keeps every thing in such admirable order, both within and without, from the garret to the cellar,

they will of him. So that they do not demand the reason of his leaving her, being resolved never to have her.

"1st July, 1663. If there be any truth in the story at all, the objection was soon got over, for they were married in less than a month afterwards."

that I do not believe there is any thing in this nation or in any other that exceeds her in such exact order without ostentation, but every thing substantially great and noble. The meanest servant is lodged so neat and cleanly, the service at the different tables, the good order and decency—in a word, the entire economy—is perfectly becoming a wise and noble person.[1] She is one who, for her disinterested esteem for me, from a long and worthy friendship, I must ever honour and celebrate. I wish, from my soul, my Lord, her husband, whose parts and abilities are otherwise conspicuous, were as worthy of her, as, by a fatal apostacy and court-ambition, he has made himself unworthy of her. This is what she deplores, and it renders her as much affliction as a lady of great sense and much prudence is capable of."[2] And the Duchess of

[1] The following commission to Mrs. Evelyn proved that Lady Sunderland was a good manager, and looked well after her servants. "My service to Mrs. Evelyn—I wish she could recommend me a good and understanding man that were sightly to wait, who might be between a clerk of the kitchen and a steward, that were a very good accountant, and who understands choosing of meat, and very honest—enough so as not to think of taking poundage. His wages should be the better for it. 'Twould be a great obligation."—Mr. Upcott's *Manuscript*.

[2] Evelyn had good reason to speak well of Lady Sunderland. She had treated him and his son with a generous hospitality,

Hamilton incidentally mentions her as being "as good a woman as any in England."[1]

On the other hand, if we believe the Princess Anne and her uncle, the Earl of Clarendon, she must have been an accomplished hypocrite; and, to use her own phrase, as great a jade as ever lived.[2] The former, in writing to her sister, the Princess of Orange, describes her as a fit partner for one of "the subtleist workinest villains that is on the face of the earth."

of which we have no idea in modern days. "I went," he says, "to Althorpe, in Northamptonshire, 70 miles. A coach and four horses took me and my son at Whitehall, and carried us to Dunstable, where we arrived and dined at noon; and from thence another coach and six horses carried us to Althorpe, six miles beyond Northampton, where we arrived by seven in the evening. Both these coaches were hired for me by that noble Countess of Sunderland, who invited me to her house at Althorpe, where she entertained me and my son with extraordinary kindness. I stayed there till Thursday." When Thursday came, he says, "I left this noble place and conversation, my Lady having provided carriages to convey us back in the same manner as we came, and a dinner being prepared at Dunstable against our arrival." — i. 653.

[1] "The Duchess of Hamilton, although a staunch Presbyterian and hearty revolutionist, at all times contradicted the story of the Queen's false big belly on the authority of the Countess of Sunderland, whom she reckoned as good a woman as any in England."—*Additional Note to* Burnet's *Hist.*

[2] "I then went," says Lord Clarendon, "to the Princess, my wife having told me she wondered she did not see me. I found

Between these conflicting opinions, the reader will form his own judgment, as far as these letters enable him to do so, as well as of the nature of that intimacy which existed between Lady Sunderland and Henry Sidney, which, certainly, if there be any truth in the rumours of that day, was of a different kind from that "long and worthy friendship" which existed between her and Evelyn.[1]

her in her bedchamber, only one of her dressers with her . . . . . She told me she found the King much disturbed about the preparations that were making in Holland . . . . . She then spoke with great dissatisfaction of my Lord and Lady Sunderland, especially of my Lady Sunderland. I said I was much surprised to find her Royal Highness in this mind towards that Lady, whom all the world thought to have great interest with her, and asked if I might presume to inquire what the matter was. She said she thought her one of the worst women in the world. After a pause, I took the liberty to say that I wished her Royal Highness had not thought so well of her heretofore, that I was sure she had a just caution given her."—Clarendon's *Diary*, ii. 189.

[1] Both Barillon and Bonrepos, in their letters to Louis, allude to the "commerce de galanterie," which it was generally supposed existed between Henry Sidney and Lady Sunderland. "On leur prit," says Barillon, in July, 1678, "il y a quelque temps des lettres qu'elle (Lady Sunderland) ecrivoit à Mr. Sidney qui est presentement aupres du Prince d'Orange, et fort bien avec lui. Le Roi d'Angleterre a eu connoissance de ces lettres * que Madame de Sunderland à des-

* Lady Sunderland, in one of her last letters now published, mentions her suspicions that her letters were opened and read.

That she was a woman of energy and talent, and that with these qualities she inherited much of her father's disposition to political intrigue, there can be no doubt. The part she took, or which was assigned to her by her husband at the time these letters were written, was that of ingratiating herself with the Prince of Orange, which she was fully enabled to do by means of Sidney. She was wise enough to see very early in the correspondence that that was the "plant to be cultivated;" and which, in fact, did in due time grow up to give shelter to her house.

Lady Sunderland's friendship with Evelyn lasted through life, and after his death was continued to his widow. She consulted him in all her difficulties. He occasionally distributed her charities,[1] and was the director of her serious and religious studies.[2]

avouées et my Lord S., s'est tiré d'affaire en disant que quand même ces lettres de sa femme ne seroient point supposées, il seroit impossible qu'il y eut aucun part, qu'on ne savoit que trop que sa femme etoit soupçonnée d'ávoir un commerce de galanterie avec Sidney, et qu'il n'etoit pas vraisemblable qu'il mit toute sa fortune et sa vie entre les mains d'un homme quil doit hair."

[1] Evelyn's *Memoirs*.

[2] Evelyn was a great diner out, and happy was Lady Sunderland to secure him at her dinner-parties, either at her own house, or at her mother's, Lady Bristol's, at Chelsea. She was evidently a person who liked to see every thing, and, in indulging this taste, Evelyn was frequently her companion. He

Upon the appointment of Lord Sunderland to be Secretary of State, Lady Sunderland writes thus to Evelyn in reply to his congratulations.

"February 11th, —77-78.

"I am most confident of your friendly wishes, and value them extremely. For this honour which the

escorted her to the exhibitions; he took her to dine with his friend, Sir Robert Clayton, on the Lord Mayor's day— "being desired to carry her there on a solemn day, that she might see that Prince of Citizens, who, for the stateliness of his palace, prodigious feasting, and magnificence, had never been exceeded." If there was anything very curious to be seen, Lady Sunderland sent for Evelyn. "I took leave," he says, "in 1672, of my Lady Sunderland, who was going to Paris to my Lord, now Ambassador there. She made me stay dinner at Leycester House, and, after dinner, she sent for Richardson, the fire-eater," &c. &c. Again, "dining with Lady Sunderland, I saw a fellow swallow a knife and divers great pebble-stones, which would make a great rattling one against the other; the knife was in a sheath of horn." * If Evelyn, or indeed any of her friends, was sick, the next post was sure to bring a letter from Lady Sunderland with a certain cure. Who knows but that the following hint may make the fortune of some physician of this day? "I beg I may hear by the bearer how you do, for indeed I am truly concerned. I likewise desire you will try my receipt; indeed, I have known it do wonders. Just when you find the least grumbling of your fit, have so much new milk ready as will in a bucket come up above the calves of your legs. You must put your legs in as hot as 'tis possible to bear, covering it over with a cloth to keep in the heat. You must also have milk over the

* Evelyn's *Memoirs*.

King has done my Lord, I cannot think it worth rejoicing much at it, as times now are. I have every reason to be glad for what you mention. I could say much to you of my thoughts of this matter, but it is my waiting-day. I pray God direct my Lord, and prosper him to the good of his country and to God's glory. Pray for him and for me, I beg of you.

"Be so charitable as to furnish me with a prayer particular to this occasion.

"I am sincerely your friend,

"A. S."

Towards the end of the year 1678, when the House of Commons was engaged in its proceedings against Lord Danby, and the whole nation was occupied with the Popish Plot, Lady Sunderland writes upon these stirring subjects to Evelyn.

"December 25th, eight o'clock at night.

"I think, when you went, the business of my Lord Treasurer was afoot which proceeded to an

fire, very hot, to put in as the heat of the other goes off; so keep it, during all your cold fit, as hot as you can bear it. The first time, it will make you very sick and faint.

"You must drink candy-possett as you sit in the milk; and, as soon as your cold fit goes off, go to bed and sweat. Pray do this for three fits, and I hope in God it will cure you. I have never known it fail."—Mr. Upcott's *Manuscripts*.

impeachment, containing six articles. The two first, which they built most upon, was what Mr. Montague's letters furnished, which they divided into two articles, which went by the name of High Treason. The treating with the King of France for peace, as they must suppose without the knowledge of the King, because these letters bore date the 25th, and the King's revealed will declared in Parliament on the 20th—was for the raising of the army to go on with a thorough war with France. They say this is treason, and therefore they impeached him of traiterously assuming the regal power to himself in treating of peace and war of his own Council. The other was about the breach of the Act of Parliament in keeping up the army. These were the two acts of treason; the others are misdemeanors of a great kind too long to write; but it was their intent, by putting in treason, to have obliged the Lords to have committed him, and then they made no question but to have proved all upon him; but, after a long debate, it was found not to be treason according to the Act, and that for declaratory treason. Only the Lords would not allow of the sequestering him of his place in the House as the Commons requested. This they carried clear, and

his Lordship does yet keep the King's ear; but, between you and I, I fear he will find that he is ill advised if he thinks to carry it with a high hand, for I believe he will prove a wounded deer, and be very unserviceable to the King in the place he is in at least. That is the opinion of wise people, but, to-morrow, they say, will be a hot day, and shew us much.

"You see how willing I am to tell you what I can. Whatever there is that should not be omitted, excuse, for it is out of my province writing on these matters; but what ought I not to do to satisfy one to whom I have so great obligation; but when I consider how well you spend your time, I am like to burn this scribble. Pray do you do so as soon as you have read it.

"Now, as to the plot, methinks it looks as if God Almighty would bring it all out, whether we would or not, and shew us our wilful, sinful blindness. The day you went, Bedloe cast his eye upon a man who followed his coach, and on the sudden called out that they should lay hold of him, for that he was the man he had described to the two Houses, and that he could never find. Upon which the man was seized, loaded with chains, and sent to Newgate. Bedloe swears that he was one

of those that killed Godfrey, and that, if he would confess, he could make great discoveries. Upon which the Lords obtained his pardon of the King, and went on Monday with it to the dungeon, where they were a considerable time: my Lord Winchester, Lord Essex, Lord Shaftesbury, and Lord Grey.

"The King went to my Lord Winchester, and asked him what they had discovered. He answered, not anything, that the fellow seemed to be an idle fellow, and contradicted himself, which very well satisfied the King, but they had entered into a solemn oath not to discover anything; and, on Monday night, they obtained a warrant from Secretary Williamson to search Somerset House,[1] where they found all the people, save one, that he told them of, and they seized them. This made a great noise yesterday; and this fellow, who is a silversmith, and used to clean the plate at the Queen's Chapel, was brought before the King and Council, and, upon search made, they are now satisfied that the murder was done at Somerset House. The King himself begins to believe it. My Lord Bel-

[1] Somerset House had been the Jointure House of the Dowager Queen Henrietta Maria. It was at this time occasionally the residence of Queen Catherine.

lasis is still named as the chief in it by this fellow. Several other very scurvy circumstances he told, and several more he has told in private to a Committee of the House of Commons last night, who were writing down what he said two hours at the prison.

"One thing I must not omit which was said of Somerset House, that in the search there, after the men this fellow accused, they found between fifty and sixty Irish and other priests; but, not having a warrant to seize them, they did not do it. It was odious enough to the people before this discovery. I am called away, and can only assure you of my sincere friendship.

"Pray for me,

"A. S."

"March 28th, 1679.

"I can never do anything considerable, I fear, to express my gratitude to Mr. Evelyn for all the goods I have received from him, but I can never omit those little things that are in my power, to shew him how much he is in my thoughts. I fancy it will be a satisfaction to you to hear that my Lord Essex is one of the Commissioners of the Treasury in the place of my Lord Arlington;

the rest remain as they were. Yesterday was the first day of their opening; yesterday, likewise, the bill for incapacitating my Lord Treasurer and for banishing him was sent down from the Lords to the Commons, but 'twas flung out with great scorn, and they proceed to a bill of attainder, and seem now not to be content with less. They talk also of making his two sons, by an act, incapable of bearing any office in the Kingdom. This is all the news I can send you.

"Mrs. Boscawen, Mrs. Godolphin, and I dined yesterday at Parsons' Green, when we wished for you, and resolved to come quietly to Deptford. Our friend Mr. Godolphin seems to like his employment much better since my Lord of Essex was joined with him.

"My little boy is very well, and I am entirely and sincerely yours,

"A. S."

The course of their true friendship did not always run quite smooth. Lady Sunderland was one who could ill bear even the appearance of a slight, and she writes to her friend more than once in this strain:

" 26th May.

" I must own to you that I take it a little unkindly your seeing me no oftener when you were in town and going out of town, without thinking of one who has ever been most sincerely your friend ever since I had the happiness to know you. But mortifications of this nature, though grievous, yet I hope will do me good; and meeting with them so often as I have done in the world will, I hope, make me value and love the world every day of my life less than the other, there being nothing in it, in my opinion, to tempt one if our friends forsake us. Whatever I say of this kind, pray take it as I mean it, very kindly, for if I were not so, I should never complain.

" I am sure I will never give you cause by being less than I have proved myself your friend and servant, " A. S."

Evelyn was not disposed to submit to these reproaches without a remonstrance and reply.

He says: " I received your reproaches, though a little unjust, as a great mark of your favour shewn to me. I make no apology for saying unjust upon any other account than the inequality of my merits. First: I do assure your Ladyship that

I have never failed in the duty which I owe to you, and which you do so justly exact—that of waiting upon your Ladyship every time I have been in town. I came up but on Friday, and thought your Ladyship was gone to Althorpe, till I was undeceived by my Lord Spencer, whom I met accidentally last evening. Yesterday I intended to wait upon your Ladyship, but was told by a friend you were not at home; so that I hope your Ladyship does absolve me of that want of duty and good manners as well as of gratitude.

"If I were upon equal terms with your Ladyship in other circumstances, then nothing I should take more to heart than your displeasure at my sincerity, because I do not importune your Ladyship for trifling replies, nor do I ever intend to mortify you, nor have you any cause to complain of my regards. I trust then, Madam, that your Ladyship will reproach me again in this manner, when I fail of doing you any *real* service which is in my power.

"Madam, I most heartily congratulate you on the recovery of my Lady Bristol. I did not know till now that she had been at all indisposed."

In the Spring of 1681, Lady Sunderland, who, notwithstanding all her protests against being too

much occupied with the things of this world, seems always to have had a keen eye to her own interests and those of her family, applied to Evelyn to propose the marriage of her son, Lord Spencer, to the daughter and rich heiress of his friend, Sir Stephen Fox; a negotiation which he reluctantly undertook, but which will be better explained in his own words.

"16th May. Came my Lady Sunderland to desire that I would propose a match to Sir Stephen Fox, for her son, Lord Spencer, to marry Mrs. Jane, Sir Stephen's daughter. I excused myself all I was able; for the truth is, I was afraid he would prove an extravagant man; for, though a youth of extraordinary parts, and had an excellent education to render him a worthy man, yet his early inclination to extravagance made me apprehensive that I should not serve Sir Stephen by proposing it like a friend; this being now his only daughter, well-bred, and likely to receive a large share of her father's opulence. Lord Sunderland was much sunk in his estate by gaming and other prodigalities, and was now no longer Secretary of State, having fallen into displeasure of the King for siding with the Commons about the succession; but which, I am assured, he did not do out of his

own inclination, or for the preservation of the Protestant religion, but by mistaking the ability of the party to carry it. However, so earnest and importunate was the Countess, that I did mention it to Sir Stephen, who said, that it was too great an honour, that his daughter was very young, as well as my Lord, and he was resolved never to marry her without the parties' mutual liking, with other objections which I neither could nor would contradict.

"He desired me to express to the Countess the great sense he had of the honour done him, that his daughter and her son were too young, that he would do nothing without her liking, which he did not think her capable of expressing judiciously till she was sixteen or seventeen years of age, of which she now wanted four years, and that I would put it off as civilly as I could."[1]

The following letter from Lady Sunderland, urging this point, is no bad specimen of her diplomatic powers.

"May 24th, 1681.

"I received your letter, and have all the grateful sense of your kindness to me in the world. I have

[1] Evelyn *Mem.* i. 533.

been in such a hurry with a great deal of unexpected company that I have not had a moment's leisure, and yet this business lies so much upon my heart that I cannot let this post pass without assuring you sincerely that I had rather marry my son to Sir Stephen Fox's daughter, with twelve thousand pounds, if our circumstances would admit of it, than to any other I can think of for twice the sum. So great a value have I for those two good people, he and his Lady. By the next post I shall lay before you all our reasons, and I don't doubt but I shall convince you how truly I desire this alliance, and how happy I shall think my son if it please God he may be matched among such good people.

"I rest most sincerely yours."

This letter was accompanied by the following statement of the value of the Sunderland estates in Warwickshire and Northamptonshire; and it is curious, as in the course of it she alludes to a general depreciation of landed property that had occurred.

"The estate settled, on the marriage of the Earl of Sunderland, upon his eldest son, as it is now let.

" The Manor of Worme-Leighton, in Warwickshire, is now let for £2,300 0 0

Althorpe	0,602	0	0
Nobottle	0,313	11	0
Nobottle Woods (60 acres)	040	0	0
Great Brington	0,218	17	0
Little Brington	0,187	15	0
	3,662	3	0

" The Manor of Worme-Leighton, when I was married, was let for £3,200, as will be made out by every body; and, not to value the thing more than it deserves, I dare say may, if it were managed as it ought to be, made much more of than it is, though not so much as when it was first settled, because lands every where are generally sunk, and particularly thereabouts.

" The rest of my Lord's estate is engaged, part of it for sixteen thousand pounds, which is the reason of my telling you we could noways marry my Lord Spencer and provide for our younger children with less than twenty thousand pounds; which will, as you perceive, do more than clear the estate, which, when done, in consideration of the rents of the land settled being so much fallen,

my Lord will settle one thousand a year more on my son's marriage.

"I will not enlarge upon other particulars of present maintenance and such things, because, if the propositions now made be hearkened unto, I am sure we shall not disagree—Sir Stephen Fox being so reasonable, and we being so much inclined to have an alliance with him.

"I forgot to mention that the 64 acres of wood is most very good timber, and that which brings in the £40 is only the carting of underwood necessary to be done.

"Half of Worme-Leighton is in jointure to my Lady Sunderland."

The failure of her plan was a sad disappointment, but Evelyn got very well out of the scrape, gaining credit for a degree of zeal which he scarcely deserved.

"If I had not been very busy," says Lady Sunderland, "I had before now answered your kind letter, in which your concern at our disappointment is as kind as was your zeal and industry to bring it to the hopes we had; and in all this, as in other matters, I have been so much obliged to you that I find myself brim full of thanks, and much wanting in the expression of them. I shall ever pray to

God to reward you with temporal and eternal blessings.

" For my own part, I have been so acquainted with disappointment that I have almost learned to be unconcerned at any, though they are very grievous if occasioned by our friends. This is not at all of that nature, but, on the contrary, I find all the reason to be satisfied with your friendly proceedings in it.

" I have not yet directly told my mother of its being off, because she had so taken her measures upon the belief of the certainty of it. By degrees I preach to her of the uncertainty of all things in this world, and that I would have her believe that something may happen to cross her satisfaction if she depends upon it, and in a day or two I will tell her."

" Mrs. Jane Fox" had a fortunate escape; Lord Spencer turned out what Evelyn had anticipated, and probably much worse. Speaking of him in 1688, and contrasting his character with that of his younger brother, Mr. Charles Spencer,[1] whom

[1] The eldest son dying without issue, this Charles Spencer succeeded to the title and estate, and married for his second wife one of the daughters and coheirs of John Duke of Marlborough. His son, by her, succeeded to that title.

he calls "a youth of extraordinary hopes, very learned of his age, and ingenious," he says; "happy were it could as much be said of the elder brother, the Lord Spencer, who, rambling about the world, dishonours his name and his family, adding sorrow to sorrow to a mother who has taken all imaginable care of his education." His end was a melancholy one, being caused by a wound which he received in a duel, the consequence of a riot in which he was engaged at Bury, of which he died, after lingering long, at Paris, in 1688.[1]

To return to Lady Sunderland, some compensation for her disappointment in respect to this match was at hand, in the restoration of her Lord to his place, and to the favour of the King, which he had lost by the course he took with regard to the Exclusion Bill, and which he recovered through the influence of the Duchess of Portsmouth, who, jade as she was in the opinion of his Lady, was always a fast friend to her husband.[2] Lord Sunderland retained his place as minister during the remainder of Charles's reign, and increased his influence during that of his successor. There are several letters of Lady Sunderland's, written to Evelyn during this period, among which the following

[1] See Letter. [2] See Letter.

shews that not only in her own matters of business, but in that of others, she referred to him for his assistance and advice.

"Althorpe, Sept. 3, 1681.

"I must now tell you what is my opinion as to Chelsey[1]—that my mother had better take £6000 for it than live a melancholy life there another winter. I am ever to trouble you with my affairs, but now we come upon you double. My mother and I do earnestly beg that you will be so kind as to negotiate the sale with Monsieur Foubert, who has told Sir Gabriel Sylvius that he will give £4000 for it. Although this offer is so incon-

[1] This House at Chelsea has been since better known by the name of Beaufort House. About the year 1520, Sir Thomas More purchased an estate at Chelsea, and built himself a house, as Erasmus describes it, "neither mean, nor subject to envy, yet magnificent and commodious enough." "This House was afterwards in the possession of George Digby, Earl of Bristol, who bequeathed it to his widow, who, in January, 1682, sold it to Henry, Marquis of Worcester, created Duke of Beaufort. From 1683, it was known by the appellation of Beaufort House, and continued to be the occasional residence of that noble family till about the year 1720. After standing empty several years, it was purchased by Sir Hans Sloane, at public sale, for £2500, and was pulled down in 1740. The Gate, which was built by Inigo Jones for the Lord Treasurer Middlesex, Sir Hans gave to the Earl of Burlington, who removed it to his gardens at Chiswick."—Falkener's *History of Chelsea*, i. 132.

siderable, there is no hearkening to it, yet, from its coming voluntarily from him, I conceive he may be brought to give this £4000 for the house and gardens, and leave my mother mistress of the little houses called the tenements. If he will agree to this, we beg you to conclude with him, and do all you can; and now, my dear Mr. Evelyn, excuse the perpetual trouble which is given you by one who would think nothing too difficult that might express how sincerely she is what she ought to be.

" I am so sleepy I can say no more."

Upon the invasion of the Prince of Orange, Lady Sunderland accompanied her husband in his flight into Holland. She soon, however, visited England again; being engaged, no doubt, in paving the way for their joint return.

In the month of June, 1689, she writes to Evelyn, from London—

" I am going on Monday to Althorpe, which is a journey I must make before I leave England, and I wish it were over, for 'twill make me have many a sad thought; and yet I think I ought to be filled with praises to God Almighty, that by this method he has seduced my husband from the

error of his ways, and indeed I think he is a true penitent; and, when melancholy thoughts lay hold on me, I fear 'tis a great fault; for the punishments are so little in comparison of my deserts, that wonder at his mercy ought to fill my heart, and leave no room for any sorrow but for having sinned against so good and gracious a God. Indeed, when I think I may live and serve that God who has done so much for me and for my poor Lord, who is now in one and the same holy religion, it does transport me, and I think there is nothing I could not go through to save it. Pray for it, pray for him, for me, and believe me that I am

"Most sincerely yours."

When the question as to the exceptions in the Bill of Indemnity was under discussion, Lady Bristol had recourse to her friend Evelyn, to whom she writes—"I should be very glad if you could be at the House of Commons' door to-morrow, that you may understand what is to be done in the Act of Indemnity; for, since I saw you, I am told there will be a great debate upon it; and, as you come from hence, be pleased to eat a bit of mutton with me and your good friend, Mr. Boscawen. You will

be extremely welcome, and 'twill be a great satisfaction to me to understand what is passed. I will stay till two of the clock to receive that satisfaction."

There was a great debate upon it, which ended in her son-in-law being excepted from the Bill: and, if Evelyn gave her a true account of things, for which she was willing to defer her dinner to so late an hour as two o'clock, the evening could not have passed off very agreeably; for, among other speeches made on that day, Mr. Harbord said — "I am for catching the great fishes; to catch little rogues is not worth our while. I would not fall into the misfortune of not making examples. This Ecclesiastical Court was not managed by Jenner — he is a little fellow. But for a Secretary of State (Lord Sunderland) to renounce his God, and act in that commission, you had as good give up all as not to question him."[1]

In the spring of the year 1691, notwithstanding his being specially excepted from pardon, Lord and Lady Sunderland returned to England; secure, if called in question, of receiving it from his Sovereign. After this period, her letters to Evelyn are almost entirely on private and domestic sub-

[1] Parliamentary History, v. 372.

jects: as age crept upon her, and ill health disabled her, and, more than this, disappointment and discontent at the sort of exile in the country to which herself and her Lord were doomed[1] preyed upon her, she became more querulous, more full of complaints of her friends' forgetfulness of her, though there was no real abatement on either side of interest or affection to the last. In October, 1694, Evelyn had nearly lost his beloved daughter, Mrs. Draper. What his feelings were on the prospect of her recovery may be judged of from the following letter.

"7th October, —94.

"For the now hopeful progress of my poor daughter's recovery, of which we had very uncertain hopes till Monday night, we think ourselves in a great measure obliged to those of our friends who have been so kindly concerned for us, but to

[1] The Earl of Orford, writing to the Duke of Shrewsbury, in 1698, says—"He (Lord Sunderland) was with me after he had seen the King, and he told me he had a joy greater than it was possible for him to express: that the King had been pleased to shew so much goodness to him as to suffer him to retire to Althorpe, and never to think of business, which he was so unfit for. But it is very discernible in his face, and much more so in his Lady's, that this resolution and favour of the King's was not expected and not at all liked of." —Shrewsbury Correspondence.

none more than to your Ladyship, and to the prayers which it has pleased God to hear, which may the same God abundantly return into your own bosom!

"On Saturday night last was se'nnight we did hardly expect to see my poor child alive the Sunday morning. Some almost imperceptible remission of her fever, and extreme thirst, which still kept her from the least repose, held us in sad suspense till Monday last, when, by the mercy of God, she was visibly better. She is now taking some rest and notice of those about her, which, till of late, she did hardly do. I bless Almighty God that she was prepared to go to a better life, and this was the only comfort in my affliction; and this, Madam, is the subject of my humble thanks to God.

"I am just now come for a night to Dover Street, and I have heard by a good friend of my Lord Spencer's happy marriage to a great Lady, of as great fortune, great prudence, and great beauty. There could be nothing less due to the great merits of my Lord's; nor, I am sure, any thing more agreeable to my true and hearty wishes. I congratulate all imaginable happiness to your Ladyship and your illustrious family."

" Althorpe, October 15th, 1694.

" I can very sincerely assure you, my dear Mr. Evelyn, that your letter of the 9th was very welcome; and I am as glad as any friend you have in the world that it has pleased God to restore to you your only daughter. May she live to God's glory, and the true comfort of her worthy parents, shall be my hearty prayer.

" You had not heard the news of my Lord Spencer's marriage from any but myself, had not there once been a rub in it; and, when that was got over, the melancholy news I heard of poor Mrs. Draper made it, I thought, improper to trouble you. 'Tis now concluded, and the writings drawn in the lawyers' house, who say they will be ready in a fortnight, by which time the Duchess of Newcastle and her daughter will be in town, and I and Lord Spencer will be there to meet them.[1] I

[1] " Whatever," says Lord Sunderland, " may be the King's mind in relation to me, I will ever submit to it. I hope he does not doubt it, and I shall most willingly stay here, not only till after Christmas, but for seven years, if he thinks fit; though I have a great concern at this time, being most extremely anxious to see my son married . . . Endeavouring to marry a son to one's mind is so good a reason for being in town, and shall be so public that I suppose it may satisfy the most extravagant jealousy, but every thing that relates to me ought and shall yield to what the King likes best."—Shrewsbury Correspondence, 594.

beseech God to give both them and us his blessing in this weighty affair, that she may prove every way a good wife for a very honest, good-natured man, as indeed, without any partiality, I think he is.

" My service to Mrs. Evelyn, with whom I do truly rejoice for her daughter's recovery. If it be not a trouble, present my service to Mrs. Draper. I wish her joy of her son.

" A. S."

The son[1] thus alluded to lived only a year; and, upon hearing of its death, Lady Sunderland writes in this strain of condolence and complaint.

" August 15, 1695.

" Though I have the mortification to think myself quite forgotten by Mr. Evelyn, I have this to

[1] Evelyn gives the following account of the very comfortable establishment of the Draper family, in a letter to his friend, Dr. Bohun.—" My daughter Draper being brought to bed in the Christmas holidays of a fine boy, has given an heir to her most deserving husband—a prudent, well-natured gentleman, a man of business, like to be very rich, and deserving to be so, among the happiest pairs I think in England, and to my daughter's and our heart's desire. She has also a fine girl and a mother-in-law exceedingly fond of my daughter, and a most excellent woman, charitable, and of a very sweet disposition. They all live together, keep each their coach, and with as suitable an equipage as any in town." — Evelyn *Memoirs*, ii. 58.

comfort me, that I have done nothing to deserve the loss of that friendship you once thought me worthy of; and I find myself as much concerned for the late loss you have had in Mrs. Draper's fine boy, as any friend you have. I know your tender good-nature on these occasions, and indeed I think 'tis only oneself that teaches one in these losses, for we are so comfortably sure that the poor innocent babies are taken out of a naughty world to be very happy, that I have often wondered at the excessive sorrow I have sometimes seen on these occasions, but that we always prefer our own satisfaction, be it never so transitory, to the most solid good for others.

"Notwithstanding all I have said, I assure you I am as sorry as I ought to be for any affliction that befalls my friend, and though I do not pretend to be free from many faults, want of tenderness in my friends' concerns I am no way guilty of.

"A. S."

"1699.

"Your kind letter received to-day, with the assurance of your concern and prayers for me, was very pleasing and comfortable to your old lone friend. I am very glad to give you the satisfaction

you desire, in letting you know that I mend, though slowly, and yet, when I consider that 'tis but three weeks since I received so great a bruise, that 'tis an amazing thing to think all my bones were not broken. I find much matter for praise and thanksgiving, and none to repine at the slowth of my recovery. I beseech God to grant that I may never be unmindful of this great deliverance from misfortunes worse than death. Pray for me, my good friend, that I may be sensible, as I ought to be, of all his providences to me, and of this in particular."

With one more letter which breathes a kind and affectionate spirit, and which was written, probably, to the widow of Evelyn,[1] and when she was a widow herself, for in it there is no mention made of him, we close the correspondence and the story of Lady Sunderland.

"August 20.

"Last night I received a letter from you dated the 5th of this month, full of complaints that you never hear from me, for which I should be highly to blame did I give occasion, but, indeed, my dear

[1] Evelyn died in February, 1705.

good woman, I try all ways to get my letters to you, and never fail once a week; how it happens I cannot tell, but the post of late is in a sad way; we have letters which do not come till they are soiled and dirty, that the like was never seen, and sometimes they come with new ones. I am sure I am incapable of neglecting any thing that is either kind in itself, or that I know will give you any comfort; for, as I would not be without your love, so will I never fail you in mine, in little or in great.

"I thank God I am much better this summer than I was last; still I have remembrances of my weakness, which I am apt to think I shall never quite recover; but I sleep very well, and seldom feel any illness in my head, but my eyes are much decayed, but nothing but what is very supportable, and I hope I have a thankful heart for the many comforts which remain to me, unworthy as I am; among which your friendship is every day commemorated, as you are prayed for by me.

"If you leave Nanny with me till she troubles me 'twill be very kind, and she will not suddenly return, for she is truly welcome, and as well as ever I saw her. She does not grow fat, but her flesh is like brawn, and she grows tall with it. I am sure

I love her as my child, and I hope you will not think me too bold if I use her as such.

"May I ask your thoughts on what I am sure you must have heard, though it may not be with the sad particulars I have, of a friend of yours; if you see the Bishop of Lincoln inquire of him, it really grieves and frightens me.

"Nanny says she loves Mamma, Aunt Pen, and Dad, and Neddy, dearly, and all her friends, but that she does not go to them for fear she should not come to me again.

"We have had four days of fine weather, and I hope that summer is come at last."

Lady Sunderland survived her friend Evelyn about ten years; she died on the 16th of April, 1715.

Another of Sidney's distinguished correspondents is Sir William Temple, who, though in no way related to him, or to any of the Sunderland family, was so intimately connected with the Sidneys by personal and hereditary ties, that he may fairly be considered as forming one in the family picture.

Sir William Temple was born in London, in the year 1628; his grandfather, Sir William Temple,

had been Secretary to Sir Philip Sidney, and his father, Sir John Temple, had married the sister of the celebrated Dr. Hammond, rector of Penshurst. At the age of seventeen he was sent to Emanuel College, Cambridge, where he remained till 1648; and the two following years of his life were passed in travelling on the continent. In 1654 he married the daughter of Sir Peter Osborne, an amiable, talented, and excellent woman, to whom he had been long engaged; and the next five years of his life were passed in happy and studious retirement in Ireland, from which he was summoned by the restoration of the king, in 1660, to engage in those scenes of public and political strife for which he was never really qualified by disposition or by habit. The fifteen years that followed were the active and busy years of his life, in the course of which he was frequently employed, either as envoy or ambassador, at different courts and places, at the Hague, at Aix-la-Chapelle, and at Nimeguen, ranking high in reputation generally as a diplomatist, but acquiring much the greater portion of his fame by his successful management of the celebrated treaty, known by the name of the Triple Alliance, between England, Holland, and Sweden, against France. This treaty was concluded in 1668,

and it seems that much of his success was owing to his frankness of manner and honesty of purpose. These were qualifications, however, which made him a very unfit servant for such a master as Charles, and he was recalled from the Hague in 1670. The triple cord which he and De Witt had woven was snapped; the King and his Ministers devoted themselves to the interests of France, and Temple retired to the delights of his study and his garden at Sheen.

In 1674, the war with Holland having ended in failure and disgrace, he was again called for and appointed Ambassador to the States; and it was on this occasion that before his departure he requested an interview with Charles, in which he quoted to him the saying of Gourville, that a King of England to be great must be the man of his people; and Charles, laying his hand upon his, replied: "And I will be the man of my people." Temple was delighted, and believed him, and very soon found that he had been thoroughly taken in.

In 1678 he was associated with Sir Lionel Jenkins as mediators in the Congress at Nimeguen. He was then offered the place of Secretary of State; and so anxious was Charles at that time to obtain the credit which he would have gained by his ser-

vices, that he offered to pay half the sum of £10,000 which was asked by Secretary Coventry, as the price of his resignation. Temple declined the offer and the office, and was again sent as Ambassador to the Hague, being probably influenced to accept this post by his regard for the people of Holland generally, and by his sincere attachment to his friend the Prince of Orange.[1]

On his return, in 1679, he found the King completely embarrassed, involved in violent contention

[1] The following character of the Prince of Orange is conceived and drawn in Sir William Temple's best style.—"The humour of kindness to the young Prince, both in the people and army, was not to be dissolved or dispersed by any medicines or operations, either of rigour or artifice; but grew up insensibly with the age of the Prince, ever presaging some revolution in the state, when he should come to the years of aspiring and managing the general affections of the people; being a Prince who joined to the great qualities of his royal blood the popular virtues of his country; silent and thoughtful; given to hear and to enquire; of a sound and steady understanding; much firmness in what he once resolves, or once denies; great industry and application to his business, little to his pleasures; piety in the religion of his country, but with charity to others; temperance unusual to his youth and to the climate; frugal in the common management of his fortune, and yet magnificent upon occasion; of great spirit and heart, aspiring to grow great, but rather by the service than by the servitude of his country; in short, a Prince of many virtues, without any appearing mixture of vice."—Temple's *Works*, i., 194.

with the Parliament, and utterly at a loss to know what to do. In this time of difficulty Charles treated him with perfect confidence; and then it was that, to relieve him from his troubles, he proposed to him that new and strange scheme of government which was the last great act of his political life—the plan of a great council of thirty of the most eminent men of all opinions and all parties. The plan, as might have been expected, proved a complete failure; jealousies and quarrels ensued; Temple himself gradually withdrew from their meetings; and at length, with Lord Essex and others, he was struck out of the list of Privy Councillors.

From this time, Temple, who had sate as member for the University of Cambridge, retired altogether from public life, and passed the rest of his days between Sheen and Moor Park, bidding the world farewell in these words: "And so I take leave of all those airy visions which have so long busied my head about mending the world, and at the same time of all those shining toys and follies that employ the thoughts of busy men, and shall turn them wholly to mend myself; and, as far as consists with a private condition, still pursue that old and excellent counsel of Pythagoras—that

we are with all the cares and endeavours of our lives to avoid diseases in the body, perturbations in the mind, luxury in diet, factions in the house, and seditions in the state."

There are few instances in which the resolutions of public men to live in retirement for the remainder of their days are steadily adhered to, if the opportunity of escaping from it offers itself; but such was really the case with Temple. Until 1685, he lived entirely at Sheen, without ever visiting the Court or the town; he waited occasionally both on Charles and James at Richmond, where he was received by both sovereigns, but especially by James, with marked attention. In 1686, he removed to Moor Park, leaving his son, John Temple, in possession of his place at Sheen; and it was on his way there that he waited upon James for the last time, when he begged "his protection to one that would always live a good subject, but who, whatever happened, would never again enter into public employment; and he desired his majesty never to give credit to whatever he might hear to the contrary."

In the revolution of 1688, it is certain that he took no part; but did it not rest upon the authority of his sister, Lady Giffard, it would be diffi-

cult to believe not only that he was not acquainted with the Prince's intentions, but that he was one of the last people that believed it; nor could his son obtain his father's permission to meet him on his landing. Upon the abdication of James, he considered himself relieved from the obligation of this promise, and they both waited upon the Prince at Windsor, where he was again pressed to enter into his service as Secretary of State, which, however, he consistently declined.

A sad domestic calamity awaited him: his son was appointed to the office of Secretary at War; within a week after his appointment, he committed suicide, by throwing himself into the Thames, leaving this writing behind him: "My folly in undertaking what I was not able to perform has done the king and kingdom a great deal of prejudice. I wish him all happiness and abler servants than John Temple." The circumstance alluded to is supposed to be his having engaged for the fidelity of General Hamilton, who, being employed to negotiate with Tyrconnel, the Governor in Ireland, betrayed the trust reposed in him.

William, though he could not persuade Temple to take any office, frequently advised with him upon matters of importance; and it is known that

Bentinck was expressly sent to him to ask his advice as to the expediency of refusing the Royal Assent to the Bill for Triennial Parliaments. Sir W. Temple advised him to pass the Bill; and he employed Swift, who was then his private secretary, to carry his reasons to the Earl of Portland; they did not, however, prevail.

Early in the year 1695, Sir W. Temple lost his wife, an excellent and very superior woman; his sister, Lady Giffard, lived with him till his death, which took place in the year 1699; he was buried, according to his own directions, with as small expense as was convenient, in Westminster Hall, near two of his children, who had died young, and his heart, according to his own express desire, was interred "six feet underground on the south-east side of the stone dial in the little garden at Moor Park."[1]

[1] "Of Temple's character," says Mr. Macauley, "little more remains to be said. Burnet accuses him of holding irreligious opinions, and corrupting every body who came near him. But the vague assertion of so rash and partial a writer as Burnet, about a man with whom, as far as we know, he never exchanged a word, is of little weight. It is, indeed, by no means improbable that Temple may have been a free thinker. The Osbornes thought him so when he was a very young man. And it is certain that a large proportion of the gentlemen of rank and fashion who made their entrance into

The following extracts from the memoir of Sir W. Temple, written for the satisfaction of his friends hereafter, upon the grounds of his retirement and resolution never to meddle again with

society while the Puritan party was at the height of power had, while the memory of the reign of that party was still recent, conceived a strong dissent for all religion. The imputation was common between Temple and all the most distinguished courtiers of the age. Rochester and Buckingham were open scoffers, and Mulgrave very little better. Shaftesbury, though more guarded, was supposed to agree with them in opinion. All the three noblemen, who were Temple's colleagues during the short time of his sitting in the cabinet, were of very indifferent repute as to orthodoxy. Halifax, indeed, was generally considered as an atheist, but he solemnly denied the charge; and, indeed, the truth seems to be that he was more religiously disposed than most of the statesmen of that age, though two impulses which were unusually strong in him, a passion for ludicrous images and a passion for subtle speculations, sometimes prompted him to talk on serious subjects in a manner which gave great and just offence. It is not unlikely that Temple, who seldom went below the surface of any question, may have been infected with the prevailing scepticism. All that we can say on the subject is, that there is no trace of impiety in his works, and that the ease with which he carried his election for an university where the majority of the voters were clergymen, though it proves nothing as to his opinions, must, we think, be considered as proving that he was not, as Burnet seem to insinuate, in the habit of talking Atheism to all who came near him.

"Temple, however, will scarcely carry with him any great accession of authority to the side either of religion or infidelity. He was no profound thinker. He was merely a man

any public affairs from this present February, 1680, will put the reader in possession of the exact condition of things previous to the departure of Sidney as envoy to the Hague.

" Upon my arrival in England (in the spring of 1678-9, from the Hague), I met with the most surprising scene that ever was. The Long Parliament dissolved, and the resolution taken for the Duke's

of lively parts and quick observation, a man of letters among men of the world. Mere scholars were dazzled by the Ambassador and Cabinet Counciller, mere politicians by the Essayist and Historian. But neither as a writer nor as a statesman can we allot to him any very high place. As a man he seems to us to have been excessively selfish, but very sober, wary, and far-sighted in his selfishness; to have known better than most people what he really wanted in life; and to have pursued what he wanted with much more than ordinary steadiness and sagacity; never suffering himself to be drawn aside either by bad or good feelings. It was his constitution to dread failure more than he desired success; to prefer security, comfort, repose, leisure, to the turmoil and anxiety which are inseparable from greatness; and this natural languor of the mind, when contrasted with the malignant energy of the keen and restless spirits among whom his lot was cast, sometimes appears to resemble the moderation of virtue. But we must own, that he seems to us to sink into littleness and meanness when we compare him, we do not say with any high ideal standard of morality, but with many of those frail men who, aiming at noble ends, but often drawn from the right path by strong passions and strong temptations, have left to posterity a doubtful and chequered fame."—*Macaulay's Crit. and His. Essays*, iii., 106.

coming into Holland, and that he was to part next day." . . . .

"I never saw any man more sensible of the miserable condition of his affairs than I found his Majesty, upon many discourses with him which my foreign employments and correspondences made way for; but nothing touched me more than when, upon the sad prospect of them all, he told me he had none left with whom he could so much as speak of them in confidence, since my Lord Treasurer (Danby) was gone." . . . .

"I found that the council of my Lord Treasurer's removal had been carried on by the Duke of Monmouth, in conjunction with the Duchess of Portsmouth and Lord Essex, who was then in the greatest confidence with the Duke of Monmouth, and by him and Lord Sunderland newly brought into the Treasury. I found my Lord Sunderland, at least, in compliance with this knot, and that all were resolved to bring my Lord Shaftesbury again to Court."

"On the other side, I believed the Parliament to grow every day more violent upon the support they received from the humours raised by the Plot, and the inventions given them by the ambitions of persons playing that game. I saw a probability

of matters growing to that pass that his Majesty might be forced to part with them, and yet I saw not authority left in the Crown either to do that without the venture of greater mischiefs, or to live without another parliament till the present humours cool. Both these considerations meeting together, cast me upon the thoughts of the King establishing a new council of such a constitution as might either gain enough with the present Parliament, by taking in so many persons of those who had most among them, and thereby give ease and quiet both to the King and his people."

This plan having been received and adopted with equal amazement and pleasure, and as a thing sent from Heaven, Sir W. Temple says, "Upon the new constitution of the Council, my Lord Sunderland had, by Mr. Sidney, desired that we might join together in perfect confidence and distinct from any others in the course of the King's affairs; whether I would enter into the other secretary's office or no, which, I said, I was very willing to embrace. . . . . This confidence had not run on above a fortnight when my Lord Sunderland asked me if I were willing my Lord Essex should be received into it, which I consented to, though with intimation to Lord Sunderland of the opinion I had

for some time of late of Lord Essex, who, I thought, I knew better than he did, so we met for a while once a day, by turns, at each of our houses, and consulted upon the chief affairs which were then on the anvil, and how they might best be prepared for the Parliament or Council; but matters growing very untoward, by the practices of Lord Shaftesbury, with the Duke of Monmouth's cover at least, and upon the ill-humour of the House of Commons about the business of religion, and my Lord Halifax appearing unsatisfied, by observing where the King's confidence was, I proposed to my Lords Sunderland and Essex to receive him into all our consultations, which I thought would both enter him into credit with the King, and give us more ease in the course of his affairs. Lord Essex received the overture with his usual dryness, and told me I should not find Lord Halifax the person I took him for, but one that could draw with nobody, but still climbing up to the top himself. However, I continued resolute in pressing it, and so at length the thing was concluded, and we fell all four together into the usual meetings and consultations." .. ..

.. ..

"During all these transactions (alluding to the

public questions, such as the exclusion of the Duke of York, &c.), the three Lords and I continued our constant meetings and consultations; and with so much union and so disinterested endeavours for the general good of his Majesty's service and the kingdoms, that I could not but say to them, at the end of one of our meetings, that we four were either the honestest men in England, or the greatest knaves, for we all made one another at least believe that we were the honestest in the world."

.. ..

"The three Lords and I went on unanimous in our consultations, considering how to make way for a calmer and better tempered session of Parliament, after the short prorogation which had been made. To which purpose we again endeavoured the removal of the Duke of Lauderdale, or at least the admission of other nobles of Scotland in those affairs. We concluded the measures with Holland in all points to the satisfaction of their Ambassadors, and thought of such arts of council as might express his Majesty's care for the suppression of popery, even in the intervals of Parliament."

Such is the description given by Sir William Temple of the happy state of this self-constituted cabinet council, when Henry Sidney, the uncle of

Lord Sunderland, who was entirely of their party and entered into all their views, was appointed Envoy to the States of Holland. But soon "a change came o'er the spirit of his dream." His plan of the council, from which so much had been expected, had already shown symptoms of failure. The machine he had invented being too cumbrous, and formed of too jarring materials to bear the strain and friction to which it was exposed, soon went to pieces; and, with regard to his own particular friends, in three short months from the time that he thus writes of them, he had sufficient proof that, as far at least as he himself was concerned, they were very far from being "the three honestest men in England."

In the mean time, Sidney sailed for Holland, bearing with him instructions to cultivate the friendship of that power, and to strengthen the alliance with England by new guarantees; and no less positive and earnest were the private injunctions he received from his friends who sent him there, to secure to each of them the favour and friendship of the Prince of Orange, in case of accidents.

Brandon, ancestor of the Dukes
ecame extinct 5 Edw. VI.

dau. of Sir Hugh
enham. ob. 1544.

Four daughters

enry, Earl of Pembroke. | 3 daughters | Sir Thos. Sidney

ghters

ham, bart. 1703 | Robert, born 1626 | Henry, born 1641, ob. 1704 | Seven daughters

=2d wife, Grace, sister of Duke of Newcastle | John Pelham, ob. S.P. | Henry Pelham =Frances Bine | Lucy, ob. 1721 =Gervais, Ld. Pierrepoint

ughters | Henry Pelham, ob. S. P. 1725 | John Pelham, ob. S.P. 1721 | Thomas Pelham, ob. 1737 =Anne Bridges | 4 daughters

Thos. Pelham. created Lord Pelham of Stanmer, and afts. Earl of Chichester, grandfather of the present Earl of Chichester =Harriet Anne, grandr. of Sir Thomas Frankland

neys is said to be deduced through the Brandons from William the Conqueror.

DIARY AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF THE

TIMES OF CHARLES THE SECOND.

June 1st, 1679. The King told me that he intended to send me into Holland, and expressed a good deal of kindness to me, but told me withal that he could not have made choice of me, but that the Prince of Orange had sent him word he liked me very well. The same day, Lord Sunderland, Halifax, and I walked together, and talked much to the advantage of the Prince. Upon all occasions, the King expressed great kindness to the Prince.

2nd. The King consented to my buying Mr. Godolphin's plate[1] with great kindness.

[1] Sidney Godolphin (afterwards Earl of Godolphin) had been Envoy to Holland in the preceding year.

3rd. I waited upon Monsieur Van Beuninghen,[1] but did not find him at home.

5th. I paid for the plate; after dinner I went to my Lord Chancellor;[2] to talk to him first of my own business, which he approved of, then of the King's, which he thinks in an ill condition, and thinks Lord Shaftesbury the chief cause of it, who being joined with the Duke of Monmouth will obstruct all till they are at the top of all affairs: that they certainly did the King much harm the last sessions, making the members believe that he was for those things which every body knows he is utterly against (meaning the excluding the Duke from the succession). It was thought that they would do so again unless the King did make it appear by removing him that he had no such interest as he would endeavour to make people believe he had: that he might do better at this time than any, seeing that he was resolved to do all the popular things; and then he would have no

[1] Monsieur Van Beuninghen had been ambassador from the States, and was succeeded by Monsieur Van Lewin.

[2] Lord Chancellor Finch, afterwards created Earl of Nottingham. "Finch," says Burnet, "was a man of probity, and well versed in the laws. He was long much admired for his eloquence, but it was laboured and affected."

pretence of complaining of the present actions. The Lord C. is more my Lord Danby's friend than any body; he got him to keep his staff ten days, which cost the King £200,000. Afterwards I went with Sir William Temple to Mr. Van Beuninghen, who was gone the day before; we then went to Mr. Van Lewin, (a very good sort of man) who received us with great civility, and made me many compliments upon my going into Holland.

6th. I executed my office; afterwards Sir John Baber[1] came to me, and complained of the Prince

[1] Agent of the Presbyterians and Duke of York. — *Orig. Note.* He was physician in ordinary to the King. North, in his Examen, describes him as a "busy body in tricking affairs, a man of finess, in possession of the protectorship of the dissenters after the manner of the cardinals for nations at Rome." Pepys mentions a peculiarity of Sir John Baber: "He hath this humour, that he will not enter into discourse whilst any stranger is in company, till he is told who he is that seems a stranger to him; this he did declare openly to me, and asked my Lord Brouncker who I was."

This Sir John Baber is set down, in Barillon's list of those members of the popular party who were pensioners of Louis, for 500 guineas, where he describes him "as one who is not in this parliament, but who has many connections in the Lower House, and who formed my connection with Lord Hollis." . . . . . "He has been very useful to me on many occasions, and it is through him I have been informed in time of what passes in the different cabals." — Pepys's *Memoirs.* i. 397; Dalrymple, i. 338.

of Orange for being so unkind to the presbyterians, and told me there were ways of reconciling himself to them;[1] he confessed they had behaved themselves ill in the last sessions, and lays all the fault on my Lord Shaftesbury. After dinner my Lord Sunderland and I went to Chelsey, and, coming home, we fell into the discourse of the Prince; and particularly that we thought it would be very good for him and every body else, for him to come over in October, and take his place at the council and in the House of Peers;[2] and we thought it would be a great strengthening to our party.

When we came home, we found all the Scotch lords with the King; and we had a fancy that the Duke of Monmouth and Lauderdale are made up.

8th. I was declared at the Committee of Intel-

[1] "The Chevalier Baber," says Barillon, in a letter written to Louis, in December, 1680, "is he, through whom I have a connection with the Presbyterians. He is a rich man, and afraid of troubles; at the bottom he is attached to the Duke of York. I see plainly that the pains he has taken have not been useless, for the Presbyterians are entirely against the Prince of Orange, and I believe it will be very difficult to set to rights what has been done against him."

[2] I proposed it: The Dukedom of Gloucester a proper title.—*Orig. Note.*

ligence[1] to go Envoy into Holland: soon after they proposed to the King accepting of the guarantee, which he was inclined to approve of. Lord Sunderland does not doubt but that it will be done before the sitting of the parliament, and that they will confirm it: it will be good for the Prince to be here at that time. Every body approves of the choice the King had made of me.

9th. The news came of the rebellion in Scotland, which altered the whole face of affairs. The council met twice, and both times fell upon Lord Lauderdale: the King taking his part, to the wonder of every body. Resolution was taken to raise forces; though most were against it.[2] The King's proceeding discontented Lord Halifax and Sir William Temple so much that they thought of quitting. Sir William Temple would, if it were not in consideration of the Prince.[3]

[1] The Committee of Intelligence, "for opening and considering all advices, as well foreign as domestic, and to meet where and as often as they shall see fit, consisted of the lord chancellor (Finch), lord president (Shaftesbury), Sunderland and Coventry as secretaries of state; Monmouth, Arlington, Essex, Halifax, and Sir William Temple."—Courtenay's *Life of Temple*, ii. 45.

[2] The raising of the forces cost a great sum.—*Orig. Note.*

[3] "The third matter of importance was the giving some ease to Scotland, where the humours began to swell about this

10th. The King was persuaded to some reason which gave them satisfaction. Sir William spoke admirably. It was resolved that the Duke of Monmouth should go into Scotland, with an unlimited power. At night they went to him again to persuade him to make those lords that had been of his council so again; but he would not consent to it, nor to the calling a new parliament, which was also proposed to him.

11th. There was a council, but the King came late, and there was nothing done. In the evening, the Scotch lords were with him, to tell him what they had against my Lord Lauderdale, and they are now to give it in writing.[1]

time; and which, we conceived, could be no way so easily done as by the removal of the Duke of Lauderdale, a man too much hated both here and there to be fit for the temper his majesty seemed resolved to use in his affairs. For this last, we could not upon any terms obtain it from the King by all the arguments used by us all four. The King's defence being a very true one, that we none of us knew Scotland as well as he did."—*Temple's Works*, ii., 500.

[1] Lauderdale is governed by his wife as much as Danby, or all would quit.—*Orig. Note.* It would be difficult to name two more unamiable ladies than Lady Danby and Lady Lauderdale. Sir John Reresby, speaking of Lady Danby, says: "Several persons had got possessed of good employments, not so much by my Lord Danby's favour and kindness as by giving money to his lady, who had for some time driven on a private

13th. There came letters out of Scotland, that make us believe matters are not so bad. The Duke of Hamilton told me he would be hanged if he had not suppressed it with two or three troops of horse; but he hath been kept under so long, and so ill used, that he begun to be out of heart, he having been put out of all employments, and never receiving a shilling of the King's money; whilst my Lord Lauderdale hath £12,000 from the King. The same day the priests were condemned,[1] which the King was not well pleased with;[2] but, after he

trade of this sort, though not without his lordship's participation and concurrence. This I knew, but had neither face nor inclination to come in at that door." — P. 289. Burnet gives the following account of Lady Lauderdale. "Not contented with the great appointments they had, she set herself by all possible methods to raise money. They lived at a vast expense; and every thing was set to sale. She carried all things with a haughtiness that could not have been easily borne from a Queen. She talked of all people with an ungoverned freedom, and grew to be universally hated."—Burnet, i. 588.

[1] These were Whitbread, provincial of the Jesuits, Fenwick, Gavan, Turner, and Harcourt, all Jesuits.

[2] Neither was Sir William Temple. Speaking of this condemnation of the priests, he says: "We only disagreed upon one point, which was the leaving some priests to the law, upon the accusation of being priests only, as the House of Commons had desired, which I thought wholly unjust. . . . . Upon this point, Lord Halifax and I had so sharp a debate at Lord Sun-

had had a little advice, he kept it pretty well to himself.[1] The trial was the clearest thing ever was seen.

June 14th. Langhorne and some other priests were also condemned.

15th. I dined with Mr. Harbord, and, falling into discourse of the affairs of the parliament and the succession, he said the only thing that could be done for the good of this nation was to declare and make the Prince of Orange protector, in case the succession fell into the hands of a Roman Catholic Prince; and he made a similitude that was good enough, of a man's leaving £6000 to his

derland's lodgings, that he told me if I would not concur in points which were so necessary for the people's satisfaction, he would tell every body I was a papist; and, upon his affirming that the plot must be handled as if it were true, whether it were so or not, I replied, with some heat, that the plot was a matter long on foot before I came over into England; that, to understand it, one must have been here to observe all the motions of it, which, not having done, I would have nothing to do with it." — Temple's *Works*, ii. 506.

[1] The King, James says, in 1679, was convinced of the falsehood of the plot. "Whilst the seeming necessity of his affairs made this unfortunate Prince, for so he may well be termed in this conjuncture, think he could not be safe but by consenting every day to the execution of those he knew in his heart to be most innocent; and as for that notion of letting the law take its course, it was such a piece of casuistry as had been fatal to the King his father."—*Life of James II.* i. 562.

daughter, in case she married with his consent; if she married without it, and the father did not name some other to give it to, the Chancery would give it to her; but, if another were named, that would keep up the interest: he thinks the parliament easily governed with a little pains and care. Monsieur Barillon spoke to my Lord Sunderland and me about regulating the visits between the ambassadors and envoys: his care is that I might live well with the French ambassador. He is vexed at my going, for he fancies that I, having refused to go into France, would not go into Holland, but that I see we are falling into that alliance. The Duke of Monmouth began his journey into Scotland at three o'clock in the morning. He parted well with the King, though he had been ill pleased with him several times upon some pretensions that he had in his head, which he hath been put on by his wife.[1]

16th. I had a good deal of discourse with my

[1] She is very assuming and witty, but hath little sincerity. She governed the Duke, and made him do several things for her husband which he repents of. — *Orig. Note.* This was Anne, heiress of Buccleugh. Evelyn gives her the same character: "I dined," he says, "at my Lord Arlington's with the Duke and Duchess of Monmouth. She is one of the wisest and craftiest of her sex, and has much wit."—i. 460.

Lord Sunderland; he seems to be in good heart, and the Lords Essex and Halifax are so too; he continues still in the opinion that it will be of good consequence to have the Prince come over: he thinks the King will be for it, and the Duchess of Portsmouth, who is his friend, and the contrary to the Duke of Monmouth, that she will part with my Lord Lauderdale, persuade Lord Danby to run away and disband the army as soon as the Scotch business is over. Sir William Temple and I driving together that day, he desired me to persuade the Prince to coin some medals; on the one side he would have him on horseback commanding his troops, with these words, "Potius servire patriæ liberæ, quam imperare servienti;" the other side sitting in the midst of the States, with the words, "Per populos dat jura volentes." He advised me to stand upon the Unions: England within itself, Holland within itself, both of them together; he advised not to mistrust Holland in their trade, commerce, or anything else, for he was sure we should find a faithful alliance there, according to the desire of the Prince, his nephew. My Lady Sunderland desired me to do all the service I could to Sir Gabriel Sylvius and his Lady.[1]

[1] Sir Gabriel Sylvius was Hoffmaester, or Chamberlain, to the Prince of Orange. He had been frequently in England,

17th. Sir William Temple had discourse with the King about Lord Lauderdale, and convinced him it was necessary to part with him; the chief motive being that having established those arbitrary laws he was unable to execute them: that weighed much. Afterwards he proposed my Lord Danby getting away,[1] as a thing necessary for his affairs. He seemed inclined to it, and I am to know how the Prince would receive him there.

19th. My Lord Sunderland told me how Monsieur Watt Master and Monsieur Du Cros did in all company endeavour to make the world believe that he (Lord Sunderland) was of the French faction, and that they (the Swedes) were not, and said something like it to my Lord Cavendish.

20th. My Lord Mulgrave[2] and I, talking of the

and had married Mrs. Howard, one of the maids of honour. Evelyn, who was consulted by his friends on almost every matter of difficulty, whether of building, planting, or marrying, brought this marriage to bear. "Nov. 11th, 1677. I was all this week composing matters between old Mrs. Howard and Sir G. Sylvius upon his long and earnest addresses to Mrs. Ann, her second daughter, mayd of honor to the Queene. My friend, Mrs. Godolphin, who exceedingly lov'd the young lady, was most industrious in it, out of pity to the languishing knight; so as tho' there were greate differences in their yeares it was at last effected."

[1] Lord Danby was at this time a prisoner in the Tower.

[2] Afterwards Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham.

succession, concluded that there would be no way to save this nation from great trouble but for the Duke to resign, which we thought he would hardly do, being governed so much by his priests. My Lord Feversham told me that he had sent the Duke word that none of his friends would help him but himself, meaning the changing his religion, which, if he did it thoroughly, would dash all his enemies.[1]

[1] Lord Feversham was a Frenchman by birth, and nephew of Marshal Turenne; a faithful adherent of James in all his fortunes. Burnet describes him as "an honest, brave, and goodnatured man, but weak to a degree not to be conceived." Speaking of these applications, James says: "These were not all the difficulties he was to fence against; his friends relapsed again into their fears, which was more grievous to him than all the rest, had they had the boldness to press him to change his religion as the only resource he had left, and that without it, both himself, the King, and Monarchy too would infallibly be lost.

"These menaces would have staggered a Prince of less Christian resolution, but no earthly motive could shake his perseverance when justice or truth were concerned; so he replied with something more of asperity than ordinary—'that he wondered those to whom he was known could fancy him capable of so much levity, in a business of that high nature, as either to have changed his religion at first, without full conviction, or to relinquish it now for temporal ends—that what he had done was upon full deliberation; and that he was resolved, let the consequence be what it will, to persevere in the truth he had already embraced.'"—*Life of James II.* i., 560.

21st. I went to Windsor with my Lord Sunderland, and coming home, we fell upon the discourse of the Duke, and how much this business of Scotland was likely to turn to his advantage. At night, we heard of his having arrived at Edinburgh on Wednesday, and that he was to join the King's forces the next day. These, with several other things, made us conclude how necessary it was for the Prince to come into England, nobody to know it but Sir William, Lord Sunderland, and I. The Duchess of Portsmouth is mightily his friend, and a great support to our party. Lord Torbat is to be secretary, now Lord Chief Justice. The King has a personal kindness for the Prince.

22nd. We began to be very apprehensive of the French ambassador making some offers that might hinder the project of the guarantee: he was very busy with the Duchess of Portsmouth. Lord Sunderland and Lord Halifax came to see me; but, before we heard of this, Lord H. told me that every one of them must have some private discourse with me about the Prince, and allowed that every honest man would be for him, unless he were a madman, meaning the setting up of popery and arbitrary government.

23rd. Lord Sunderland told me it would be

very necessary for me to be gone, for he did fear some ill business was coming; that the French ambassador was three hours with the King, who said nothing of it to Lord S. 'Tis most certain that his penchant is that way; but we hope that he will find nobody to join him in it, unless it be the Duke. Nobody is to be feared; the Duke of Buckingham and Lord F.[1] the likeliest.

24th. We continued our apprehensions of the French ambassador, but could not certainly find it out. At seven o'clock there was a council called, and Oates and Bedloe were examined if there was any thing more they had to say against the Queen. It was once thought best for her to come to trial.

25th. We had news of the rebels in Scotland being routed, which gave great joy; but at night the King was pressed to defer his journey to Windsor, which put him out of humour. The same day my Lord Shaftesbury made great profession of kindness to my Lord Sunderland, and he told me how necessary it was to have him amongst us.[2] The King hath yet a great aversion to him.

[1] The Earl of Feversham.

[2] "At length my Lord Sunderland told me that Lord Essex and Lord Halifax were of opinion that it was necessary to take in the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury into the di-

26th. Lord Halifax told me he thought it would be a good thing if the Prince would come over, and just upon the meeting of parliament, not knowing that it had ever been spoken of before. Lord Sunderland told me that the Duchess of Portsmouth was unsatisfied with the Prince; and desired me to advise him to write to her, and make some application to her, for that she will be of great use to us, particularly against the Duke of Monmouth; and I am to let him know how instrumental she hath been in changing the council, and in several other things. In short, I am to tell him that she is one Lord Sunderland does make use of, and that he must do so too if he intends to do any good with the King. She hath more power over him than can be imagined. Nobody can excuse what she hath done, but I hope well from her for the future. He thinks it necessary for him to see the Duke before he comes over; but it must be a good while before, or else it will give great

rection of affairs, considering the influence they had upon the House, and for this end to agree with them in the banishment of the Duke either for a certain time, or for the King's life, and desired to know whether I would fall into it with them, and join in bringing it about with the King. I told my Lord Sunderland positively I would not."—Temple's *Works*, ii. 503.

suspicion here. When he does see him, he is to persuade him either to turn protestant himself, or else not to take it ill of him if he falls into that interest, which is the only thing that can support him and his daughter.

27th. Sir W. Temple had a conference with the King about the new parliament, Lauderdale, and the Duke. To the first he said, he was resolved there should be one, but he was not certain of the time; he is unwilling that the elections should take place in the dog-days. To the second he said, that he would settle the business of Scotland, and turn out Lord Lauderdale before the Duke of Monmouth came back. To the last, which was begun upon Mr. Graham's being here, he did resolve that his answer should be, that he had hopes the next sessions would put him at ease; that if he (the Duke) should come over, there would be no hopes, and, therefore, he desired him not to think of it[1] till it was past; at the same time he spoke to him to write a letter of kindness to the Prince every day. Lord Sunderland makes new protestations of kindness to the Prince, and thinks it the

[1] The King said he was mad to think of it.— *Orig. Note.* The Duke of York was at this time in exile at Brussels.

true interest of the nation, which he is for more than any body.

The same day, the business at counsel was to reprieve Langhorne, wherein the King took great pains; which troubled all those that were concerned for him. The Lord Privy Seal[1] doth even

[1] Arthur Annesley, Earl of Anglesey, of whom Burnet has left this character: "He was very learned, chiefly in the law. He had the faculty of speaking indefatigably upon every subject; but he spoke ungracefully, and did not know that he was not good at raillery, for he was always attempting it. He understood our government well, and had examined far into the original of our constitution. He was capable of great application, and was a man of grave deportment, but stuck at nothing, and was ashamed of nothing. He was neither loved nor trusted by any man on any side, and he seemed to have no regard to common decencies, but sold every thing that was in his power, and sold himself so often, that at last the price fell so low that he grew useless." Of his power of close application to business there are abundant proofs in Pepys's Diary: when, in 1668, he was one of the commissioners of the navy and working hard himself, he expected his secretary to do so too. Pepys says, "I did receive a hint or two from my Lord Anglesey, as if he thought much of my taking the ayre as I have done; but I care not. Whatever the matter is, I think he hath some ill will to me, or at least an opinion that I am more the servant of the Board than I am." No wonder, then, that when the news of Lord Anglesey's suspension from this office arrived, that which was a matter of concern to others was by no means so to Pepys. "This suspension," he says, "put strange apprehensions into all our Board; only I think I am the least troubled at it, for I care not at all for it; but my

plead for the Catholics; Lord Shaftesbury is the most violent against them.

At night, the Duchess of Portsmouth and I had some discourse together of Mr. Harbord; and afterwards I asked her when she would give me her instructions. She said, she did not like to make

Lord Brouncker and Pen do seem to think much of it."—Pepys's *Diary*, ii. 272. The character given of Lord Anglesey by Burnet is not easily to be reconciled with his conduct when, in 1682, he drew up his Remonstrance to Charles on the state of the government and kingdom, which Ralph well describes as a paper containing advice both for matter and manner worthy of a peer to give and a king to embrace. The concluding passages of this paper show the spirit which pervades the whole. "Though your majesty is in your own person above the reach of the law, and sovereign of all your people, yet the law is your master and instructor how to govern; and your subjects assure themselves you will never attempt the enervating that law by which you are king, and which you have not only by frequent declarations, but by solemn oath upon your throne, been obliged, in a most glorious presence of your people, to the maintenance of; and that therefore you will look upon any that shall propose or advise to the contrary as unfit persons to be near you, and on those who shall persuade you it is lawful, as sordid flatterers, and the worst and most dangerous enemies you and your kingdom have. What I set before your majesty, I have written freely, and like a sworn and faithful counsellor; perhaps not like a wise man with regard to myself, as things stand, but I have discharged my duty, and shall count it a reward if your majesty vouchsafe to read what I durst not but write, and which I beseech God to give a blessing to."—Somers's *Tracts*, 1 coll. i. 186.

advances. I told her I hoped she would receive them well, if they were made to her. She then fell to make several expressions of kindness to the Prince, and told me she believed he and several others loved her the worse because they thought her too much in the interest of France. She confessed she had so much kindness to her own country, that she would be glad to do it any good, but when it came into any competition with England, she would show that she thought her stake here was much greater than there.

28th. My Lord Sunderland told Mr. Godolphin of our design of bringing over the Prince, which he approves of extremely, and resolves to further it. He saith there are several things to be considered in it; the first is, whether the Princess should come over; but it is resolved she should not, and that it should be ordered that she stay at the Hague, and that the Duke and Duchess do not come to her, and that she should not go to them, but let them know of his coming by letter, for it will be mightily to his prejudice if it should be suspected that his coming over was agreed upon between the Duke and the Prince. I am to let the Prince know that the Lord Shaftesbury is not of our party, but that he is a good tool to work with,

and that there is nothing to be done in a parliament without him. He makes the fairest promises that can be, and confesses that there were faults committed in the last session which he hopes will be repaired in the next.

The King is unsatisfied with the Duke of Hamilton and the other lords; 'tis much suspected that they had a great hand in this rebellion. The non-conformists are of that opinion.

30th. The King christened Sir Charles Berkeley's child, and went afterwards to Windsor, which day he passed in walking about; he was very kind, and showed me every thing that was to be seen.[1]

July 1st. Little was done all day but going a-fishing. At night the Duchess of Portsmouth came. In the morning I was with the King at Mrs. Nell's.

2nd. I received my instructions, and asked the King if he would not have me go suddenly. He told me, "Yes," and that he would write to the Prince by all means in the afternoon. I had discourse with my Lord Sunderland, and he said one chief

[1] "He lived quite privately at this time; there was little or no resort to him; and his days were passed in fishing, or walking in the park: and certain it is he was much better pleased with retirement than the hurry of the gay and busy world."—Reresby's *Mem.* p. 232.

thing that was to be desired of the Prince was secrecy; that he must resolve quickly whether he will come or not, that measures may be taken accordingly; that it will be necessary for him to keep a table, to bring none with him but his own family, and invite the parliament men, which will delight them; and I must let him know how he, Lord Sunderland, had brought in Essex and Halifax.

3rd. I went with the King to Hampton Court, where there was a council and a great debate about the dissolution of the parliament. The King proposed it, but every man was against it except our friends.[1] The King came back to Windsor, and I

[1] "The council day came; and when I came thither, and found the King and three lords with some others already there, I asked Lord Sunderland and Halifax whether all was prepared, and if the Lord Chancellor and other chief officers had been spoken to. They said, No, it had been forgotten or neglected; but that the King would do it to each of them apart as they came that morning. I thought it hard a point of that importance should be neglected so long, but was fain to content myself with what they told me would be done. The outward room, where the King was, filled apace; every one made his leg to his majesty, and filled the circle about him as they came in. I was talking apart in a corner of the room till it grew late, and the Lord Chancellor told the King it was so. I saw the King turn from the chancellor and go into the council chamber; all followed, the council sate. The King proposed

came to London, and the next day Lord Sunderland went to his house.

4th. I went to Shene, where Sir W. Temple told me that I was to acquaint the Prince with one thing which nobody did yet know; which was the making the Duke King of the Romans, it being the only thing that was likely to settle all Europe; the particulars we resolved to discuss at large.

his thoughts whether it was best for his affairs to prorogue the parliament, or dissolve it, and call another at that time, and desired their lordships' opinions upon it.

"I observed a general surprise at the Board, which made me begin to doubt the King had spoke of it to few or none but the Chancellor before he came in: but it soon appeared that he had not done so much as that, for, after a long pause, he was the first that rose up, and spoke long and violently against the dissolution, and was followed by Lord Shaftesbury in the amplest manner and most tragical terms. Lord Anglesey followed them by urging all the fatal consequences that could be; the same still was followed by the Lord Chamberlain [Lord Arlington], and agreed to by the Marquis of Worcester, and pursued from the top to the bottom of the table by every man there, and at a very full council, except the three lords who spoke for the dissolution, but neither with half the length or force of argument they intended to have done, leaving that part, as I supposed, to me, who was, I confess, well enough instructed in the case to have said more upon the argument, but I was spited from the first that I heard of my Lord Chancellor's speech, and still more and more as every man spoke, at the consequences happened by such a negligence of my friends, who had been perpetually about the King, and might have so easily effected what was agreed upon and thought so necessary."—Temple's *Works*, ii. 511-12.

5th. I went to the commissioners of the treasury and made my demands. They desired me to come again on Tuesday or Wednesday. In the afternoon I gave Gilbert Spencer a collateral security for the money borrowed and the annuity.

6th. I went to Shene, where Sir W. Temple told me what had passed on Thursday, how that every man spoke against the dissolution, and complained of the ill management; and concluded that there was nothing to be done without acquainting some particular persons of the design, before it be moved at the Board. Afterwards, I went to Windsor; upon the way I met with the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Privy Seal, who had been made acquainted with what was to be done on Thursday.

7th. I went to Cliveden, where I admired the folly of the Duke of Buckingham.[1]

8th. Lord Halifax came from London; he told me the design of Lord Worcester for putting off

[1] Evelyn liked Cliveden better. "23rd July; I went to Clifden, that stupendous natural rock, wood, and prospect of the Duke of Buckingham: buildings of extraordinary expence. The grottos in the chalky rocks are pretty; 'tis a romantic object, and the place altogether answers the most poetical description that can be made of solitude, precipice, prospect, or whatever can contribute to a thing so very like their imaginations."—Evelyn's *Memoirs*, i. 511.

the council; the reason we imagined was to have the Duke of Monmouth here. I went in the morning to Mr. Van Lewin, who told me that I should find every body in Holland well inclined to enter into a stricter union and alliance than we have had yet; that all the towns but that of Amsterdam hath been for it a long while, and that Monsieur Van Beuninghen had sent him word that he was very confident that town would also come in as well as the others. Upon the discourse of the guarantee, he told me that the King of France would not evacuate Wesel and Lipstat, till the Swedes were in possession of all Pomerania, which I doubt will retard their entering into the treaty with so much desire.

In the evening I went to Sir William's, and talking of the Duke, we resolved that there was nothing for him to do so well as to be resolute, and to begin with turning out those men that broke the triple league, shut up the exchequer, entering into a war that cost so many lives, and setting up popery.

I must ask him what shall be done with Lady Anne.

8th. I went to Windsor, and told Lord Sunderland that I heard Lord Shaftesbury had spread

abroad that whoever gave the advice for the dissolution deserved to lose their heads.

10th. I went to Hampton with Sunderland and Halifax; in the way we concluded that the Lord Chancellor had discovered all. Lord Halifax said, nobody knew it on Tuesday; that then the Lord Chancellor went, and on Wednesday every body knew it. When we came, the King quickly followed, and told his mind very resolutely, and the business was done, much to the discontent of the Lord Chancellor and several others, but most because they were themselves concerned, some because they had made cabals and intrigues. Lord Shaftesbury the greatest hand in that: when the debate was, the Duke of Monmouth came in; we suspected he was sent for, but he said little. Lord Lauderdale came with the King, who told him the whole business of the Scotch. He seemed inclined to Lauderdale.

11th. I took some care with William Harbord about the elections. At night I went to Windsor, and found Lord Sunderland and Halifax together. I told them the discourse of the town, which was most railing at them, and raised by Shaftesbury, who hates Essex and Halifax.

12th. We discoursed about the elections, but nothing concluded till the next morning.

13th. The Duke of Monmouth came to Windsor. I went to see the Duchess. She called her husband Sir.[1] If it is likely to have many presbyterians, I believe there will be indulgence given to them as there is in Scotland. There is more hopes of making D. run away.

14th. I asked the King if he had any particular commands for me. He said, all he had to say was to assure the Prince of Orange of his kindness, that he loved him, and would be as kind to him as if he were his son; he takes it very well his being ready to send over the Scotch and English[2] to assist; he told me he had great hopes of this parliament, and had the more because Lord Hollis was so angry at it. At night, I took my leave of the Queen, who desired me to tell the Prince and Prin-

[1] The Duchess of Monmouth's coldness to her husband is not surprising. She was averse to his political intrigues; and if, as Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham tells us, the Duke "was ever engaged in some amour," their domestic life must have been wretched. It was one of these intrigues which turned love to hate between the Duke of York and his nephew, and was "the accidental cause of such a division between them, as never ceased till it cost one of them the hazard of his crown, and the other that of his life." — Duke of Buckingham's *Memoirs*, ii. 33.

[2] These were the six English and Scotch regiments in the pay and service of the States under the command of the Earl of Ossory.

cess of Orange that she never writ any letter, but she hoped I would make the best compliments I could for her. At my taking leave of the Duchess of Portsmouth, she said a great deal of her readiness to do the Prince any service. I am to tell the Prince the chief reasons for the King dissolving this parliament; it is principally because the King had no hope of the last, having done so many things for them, and having such ill returns as sending away the Duke, Lord Danby, purging the courts at Westminster, establishing a new council; which was done because we saw the King going into the hands of such as the Duchess of Portsmouth would recommend.

This day I dined at Shene with Lord Sunderland and Sir Henry Capel; going thither, we talked much of the Prince's coming, the advantage it would be to him and to us all, how they would be pleased if he did make a speech in favour of the Provinces, and of the interest of England against France. We afterwards fell to consult of elections.

15th. I took leave of the King at Hampton Court, and presently after the Duke of Monmouth desired me to give the Prince of Orange thanks for the message he received from him by Sir W. Temple; and for all the favours he did him at the army, with the

assurance of his services: then I came to Shene. On the way he said that I was to tell the Prince how he was ever against Shaftesbury and Lauderdale coming into the council, and his perpetually telling the King so. He showed me the letter he had received from Sir Lionel Jenkins about receiving the presents, in which he desired to be governed by the King.

16th. I dined with Lord Halifax. In the morning we met at my Lord Sunderland's, where Mr. Harbord was mightily discontented. After dinner, Sir W. Temple showed me a letter from the Prince, wherein he said that he believed Monsieur Van Lewin would quickly have power to treat about the guarantee, and that Valkener was come in to him.

17th. I took my leave of Lord Shaftesbury; he told me he hoped I would make a good alliance between us and the Dutch, that we might be able to make some resistance to France. As for the Prince of Orange, he said if he would continue a good Protestant we would do him right. He commended Lord Sunderland, but spoke slightly of Essex and Halifax. Afterwards I went to Lord Halifax, and, telling him what had passed, he said he differed from Lord Sunderland, for that he was confident there never would be any good done with that man.

I met the French ambassador in the street, who made me great profession of kindness. In the afternoon I went to my Lord Essex, who gave me a letter for the Prince, and withal told the advantage it would be to have him come over, and if he were brought into the House and the council it would be much better; but it was not to be done without taking the oath of allegiance, and whether he could take that or no, he could not tell, because of the Act 30th. He and Lord Halifax are of that reputation, that nobody can blame them for any one action in their whole lives, and they two, with Lord Sunderland, have more land than the King.[1]

At night, I went to Sir William, where we resolved that it would be best for the Prince to bring over the treaty, that it would give less jealousies to France, and be of great advantage to the Prince and every body else. It must be contrived, if the

[1] Very great importance was attached in those days to the possession of large landed property. It was one of the main features of Sir W. Temple's celebrated council scheme. He says: "One chief regard necessary to this constitution was that of the personal riches of the new council, which, in revenues of land or offices, was found to amount to about three hundred thousand pounds a year; whereas those of the House of Commons are seldom found to have exceeded four hundred thousand pounds, and authority is observed much to follow land."—Temple's *Works*, ii. 494.

Prince does bring it over, that the Spanish and German ministers must be here with a full power to conclude. When he is here, we think he should be created duke, and have all the dignities and rights of the third son of England. He will do well to unite himself with the people there, for that would do him great good here. We talked how ill Lord Chumleigh, Mr. Montague, and Sir William Car behave themselves, what mischief they do because they are not uppermost. He advised me to go to the Prince as soon as I landed, and in a day or two to go to the French ambassador without giving notice, and with as little ceremony as possible. We talked of my behaviour to the States.

This afternoon, I was with the Lord Chancellor, who told me how good a thing it would be to present the parliament at their meeting with a strict alliance with the States; and, if a match could be made between the King of Sweden and my Lady Ann, it would be a great satisfaction to the people.

18th. In the morning, before we parted, we talked again of the Prince, and he begged, for God's sake, that he would not disagree with the Spaniard about Maestrecht. He advised to have the English

and Scotch troops full and in good order, for they might be of use on several occasions, and particularly that he would not let a papist come in. Collier is well with the Prince, and governs the English. Wesley married his daughter, and of his party there is Mackay, a Scotch colonel. Sir W. Temple has a particular esteem for him.[1]

[1] And well he deserved it, for, to judge from the character which Burnet has left of him, he must have been one of the best of soldiers and of men. He says: — "Mackay was one of the best officers of the age, when he had nothing to do but to obey and execute orders, for he was both diligent, obliging, and brave; but he was not so fitted to command. His piety made him too apt to mistrust his own sense, and to be too tender, or rather fearful, in any thing where there might be a needless effusion of blood." He had the command of the King's troops in 1689, at the fight at the Pass of Killicrankie, where Dundee fell. He greatly distinguished himself in the campaign in Ireland under William, and was killed at the battle of Steinkirk, in 1692. "We lost," says Burnet, "in this action about five thousand men and many brave officers; here Mackay was killed: being ordered to a post that he saw could not be maintained, he sent his opinion about it, but the former orders were confirmed; so he went on, saying only, 'The will of the Lord be done.' He was a man of such strict principles, that he would not have served in a war that he did not think lawful. He took great care of his soldiers' morals, and forced them to be both sober and just in their quarters: he spent all the time he was master of in secret prayers, and in the reading of the scriptures. The King often observed, that, when he had full leisure for his devotions, he acted with a peculiar exaltation of courage. He had one very singular

When I came to town, I dined at Mr. Harbord's. Sir Henry Capel told me that we should always have

quality: in councils of war he delivered his opinion freely, and maintained it with due zeal: but, how positive soever he was in it, if the council of war overruled it, even though he was not convinced by it, yet to all others he justified it, and executed his part with the same zeal as if his own opinion had prevailed."—Burnet's *History*, iv., 170. Mackay published a work called "Rules of War for the Infantry, ordered to be observed by their majesty's subjects encountering with the enemy on the day of battle," which concludes with this proof of his deeply pious and religious feeling. "Lastly, when all dispositions are made, and the army waiting for the signal to move towards the enemy, both officers and soldiers ought seriously to recommend (together with their souls and bodies) the care and protection of the cause for which they so freely expose their lives to God, who overruleth the deliberations and councils, designs and enterprises, of his creatures, and of whose blessings alone the success of all undertakings doth depend, which they may do in these, or in like words. 'A Prayer.—O Almighty King of Kings, and Lord of Hosts, which, by the angels thereunto appointed, doth minister both war and peace. Thou rulest and commandest all things, and sittest on the throne judging right; and therefore we would make our addresses to Thy divine Majesty in this our necessity, that Thou wouldest take us and our cause into Thine own hand, and judge between us and our enemies. Stir up thy strength, O Lord, and come and help us, for Thou givest not always the battle to the strong, but canst save by many and by few. O let not our sins now cry against us for vengeance, but hear us, thy poor servants, begging mercy and imploring Thy help, and that Thou wouldest be a defence against the enemy. Make it appear that Thou art our Saviour and Mighty Deliverer. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."—Mackay's *Memoirs*.

between thirty and forty sail. At Shene, our discourse was much about what I should say to the ministers abroad: how that the King my master was much for the peace of Europe, and as he has endeavoured to make it, so he would endeavour to preserve it.

19th. I received the King's letters. In the afternoon, I met Sir Henry Capel, who desired me to make his compliments to the Prince. He, Mr. Harbord, and I were all in Sir W. Temple's chamber.[1] He told me he would only have me ask the Prince if he had ever thought of that business which he once spoke of to him of the Duke being king of the Romans. When we were together, Mr. Harbord told us that if the King did not resolve to do four or five things, there could never be any union between him and his people. The first that he imagined they would fall upon, was the business of the pardon,[2] then my Lord Lauderdale, then the plot, and last the succession.

20th. I received the order to go aboard the yacht. At night, Mr. Montague was with me, who

[1] Sir William Temple stands for Cambridge. The Duke of Monmouth told him he would recommend nobody; yet Sir Robert Sawyer stands, who is a creature of his.— *Orig. Note.* The Duke of Monmouth was chancellor of the University.

[2] The pardon granted to Lord Danby.

told me how glad he was of Wakeman's being acquitted,[1] "for," saith he, "it is much better for us Mutineers."[2] He gave me great charge to remember his pills.

21st. Mr. Hide came to me,[3] and carried me

[1] Evelyn tells us that he was present at Sir G. Wakeman's trial, and gives an interesting account of it: he adds, "This was a happy day *for the Lords in the Tower*, who, expecting their trial, had this gone against the prisoners, would all have been in the utmost hazard."—Evelyn's *Diary*, i., 509.

[2] The name given to the most violent of the popular party.

[3] This visit of Hide's to Mr. Sidney, just upon the eve of his departure, was taken advantage of in aftertimes by Lord Sunderland, to create a jealousy against him when he was Earl of Rochester and high in the favour of King James. "My Lord Sunderland," says Barillon, in one of his despatches to Louis, dated the 26th November, 1685, "has told me a thing of great consequence, which, if it be true, and the King of England should know it, will diminish greatly the credit of my Lord Rochester — it is that, when Mr. Sidney was going into Holland, my Lord Rochester begged to see him the last, and only a minute before his embarkation with Bentinck. In this interview, my Lord Rochester told Mr. Sidney that he had one piece of advice to give to the Prince of Orange, which was to come to England, whatever it might cost, and even in spite of the King of England, and that it was the sole and only means to set things right, which, if they took a bad course, it would be impossible in the end to remedy. Mr. Sidney acquitted himself of his commission, and said that the Prince of Orange was moved, but did not dare to hazard coming," . . . "I see plainly the motive of my Lord Sunderland, in telling me a thing of this importance, has been to deprive me of all confidence in Lord Rochester, and to make me regard him as

to Mr. Godolphin, who told me that they fancied that Monsieur Van Lewin was colder in the business of the guarantee than he had been; that he said there was no haste in concluding it, that there was now on foot the defensive treaty, which he thought would be sufficient for the present. Upon this, he told me I was to press all I could to have the project of the guarantee finished; for, though there never had been so good alliances made all that time, they would not be liked, because they were made in my Lord Treasurer's time, and therefore it would be absolutely necessary to have some new ones made. Soon after I spoke to my Lord of Essex, who, I find, is mightily out of heart upon the King's intentions to raise new troops of musqueteers, which he says he will never consent to, nor set his hand to the establishment of. Another thing that

one entirely opposed to your majesty's interests, and attached to those of the Prince of Orange. I can hardly think that this circumstance is invented. I well know that my Lord Sunderland can, through Mr. Sidney, keep up his connexion with the Prince of Orange, which may come to light in future times; but, in the mean time, he keeps a course entirely favourable to the Catholics, and which alienates the King his master from all other attachments but to the interests of your majesty."—Dalrymple. The whole of this statement of Sunderland was probably false, with the exception of the visit, and that is misrepresented.

troubles him is that the King hath writ a letter into Scotland upon the desire of my Lord Lauderdale to let them know that he is well satisfied with all that hath been done there, and he intends to issue a proclamation to the same effect. Afterwards I went to see my Lord Halifax; he told me he had seen Sir W. Temple, and that it was resolved no presents should be taken. I came on board the yacht, and, by the way, about the time we set sail, I saw the Duchess, a fine second-rate ship. With a fair wind, about three or four o'clock, we came to the North Foreland.

THE EARL OF ESSEX[1] TO CHARLES II.

London, July 21, 1679.

Since my coming to town I have heard of many discourses here, concerning the new company of

[1] Arthur Lord Capel, the first Earl of Essex, was the son of the Lord Capel who lost his life in the service of Charles I.: he was created Earl of Essex in 1661. In 1670, he was sent Ambassador to Denmark, and two years afterwards he was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and at the present time he was the first Lord Commissioner of the Treasury. "As for my lord," says his great friend Evelyn, "he is a sober, wise, judicious, and pondering person, not illiterate beyond the rate of most noblemen in this age, very well versed in English history and affairs, industrious, frugal, methodical, and every way accomplished. * * * My lord was not long since

guards which your Majesty is raising; those who do not wish well to your affairs do rejoice much at it, concluding it will give great cause of jealousy to your people, and prevent the good effects which your Majesty hopes for, this next session of Parliament; and that upon this occasion may be taken to question some guards now in being. 'Tis commonly said this is but a foundation of a standing army, whilst a body of officers shall be thus kept together to head men which may suddenly be raised; that this is an illusion of the act of disbanding, which intended to separate the officers and soldiers then in pay, when so soon after many of these officers are collected into a body again. There is nothing I do more apprehend than a mistrust men may have, that any design is on foot of

come from his Lord Lieutenancy in Ireland, where he showed his abilities in administration and government, as well as prudence in considerably augmenting his estate without reproach. He had been Ambassador Extraordinary in Denmark, and in a word, is such a person as became the son of that worthy hero his father to be, the late Lord Capel, who lost his life for King Charles."—Evelyn's *Mem.* i., 518.

In 1683, the Earl of Essex was imprisoned in the Tower on suspicion of being engaged with Lord Russel and Algernon Sidney in the Rye House Plot. Being subject to constitutional melancholy, his fortitude gave way, and he cut his throat; which was the more to be lamented, as there is reason to believe nothing could have been proved against him.

governing by an army, and therefore the least action which may be construed to intend this cannot at this conjuncture but be very fatal to your Majesty. Your Majesty has gained much upon your people by disbanding the troops raised for Scotland, and I should grieve extremely to see you lose again that credit by forming this new constitution of guards. The world cannot but observe the great frugality your Majesty has begun in your household, and the retrenchments intended on pensions and otherwise. Now if monies shall be saved all other ways, and force increased, what hopes can there be of a supply to relieve your Majesty's pressing occasions, when, in so narrow a time as this, the charge of troops being increased, men will apprehend the money which shall be given will be applied to the like uses? I cannot but acquaint your Majesty of the effect it hath on the Treasury, for we do clearly find men much more backward to lend money than they were before. There are divers who have endeavoured to obstruct the credit there, but 'tis certain now they do it with much more force, whilst they have this pretence to back all they say. I speak nothing but from a heart zealous for your service, and therefore I hope your Majesty will be pleased graciously to accept what I

have said, and make such reflections thereon as may be most for your own good, which is ever the aim of your Majesty's most dutiful and most obedient subject and servant.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO LORD ESSEX.

Tuesday.

I gave your Lordship's letter to the King. He cannot yet be persuaded that the new guards will hurt his affairs so much as I believe they will. Sir William T. is now here, and will speak to him of them; so will the Dutchesse of P. I have done it, and will again. I shall wait upon your Lordship to-night or to-morrow morning, and give you a more perfect account of this matter.[1]

On the 23rd, the wind chopped about, and we had very little all day; but, about two, we came in sight of Ostend and the West Capell; at night we plied up and down the coast, but, the wind being contrary, we could make but little way.

24th. In the morning, we were in sight of Schonen, in the evening, of Goree, where we took a

[1] Both these letters have been published by Dalrymple, i., 314. They were found by the messenger who was sent to seize Lord Essex's papers, in his cabinet, when he was arrested on account of the Rye House Plot.

pilot on board, who brought us into the river Mayse; and, about two o'clock, the tide being almost spent, we came to anchor within three leagues of the Brill, and in sight of the Hague.

25th. We had a dead calm in the morning; but, about twelve, it began to blow, and at four we got to Delf Haven, and at seven to the Hague, where I heard that the Prince was gone to Dieren. As soon as I came, I writ to Lord Sunderland and Sir William Temple short letters. I spoke with Mr. Meredith.[1]

26th. I waited upon the Pensioner;[2] and, after I had made him my compliments, he told me I could not have come at a time when any proposition from England would be better received, for every body here was now much disposed that way; that he thought the King would do well to put the

[1] Mr. Meredith was secretary to the embassy at the Hague.

[2] The Pensioner Fagel, thus described by Sir William Temple. "I find the Pensioner is the great man here, and acts all under the Prince's influence, though not without some distaste among the richer sort of people in the towns. He is a person whose dispositions may, I am confident, be proved to make him as partial to England as those of his predecessor (De Witt) were esteemed to France, in case there were any composition of those two interests here. The point upon which I judge this to turn chiefly is that of religion, in which I find him by his discourses very warm, and hear by others that he hath it very much at heart."—Temple's *Works*, iv. 33.

Spaniards in mind of the weakness of all the towns in Flanders, there being not above three hundred men in Charleroy. Soon after, Sir Gabriel Silvius came to me. He told me the French ambassador never came to see the Prince or Princess; that he hears the French find that there is nothing to be done without the Prince, and therefore that they intend to send Monsieur Schomberg as ambassador. He finds fault with the Prince that he does not live with respect enough to the Duke, and that the Duke is sensible of it. He thinks it necessary that the Prince should have a minister in England, and he would be the man. He is sorry the Prince does not use people better. My Lady Betty Selbourne complains and wails horribly.

That night I lay at Utrecht, in the suburbs; it being late, I could not get into the town.

27. I came to Nimeguen, where Sir Lionel Jenkins used me with all the civility imaginable, and told me that the Prince had sent him word by his gentleman that he went a-hunting[1] on Monday, and desired him to come on Tuesday.

[1] The Prince of Orange was passionately fond of hunting; his tastes, indeed, appear to have been very much those of his forefathers, the ancient Germans, of whom Cæsar says, "Vita omnis in venationibus atque in studiis rei militaris consistit." The account which Sir William Temple gives of his first im-

28th. I staid all day at Nimeguen, and made a visit to the two Dutch ambassadors, Monsieur Van Beverning[1] and Monsieur Van Huren, who were very civil, and gave me a great chair and the hand.[2] I went afterwards to see the house where the ambassadors met, and the Belvidere.

pressions of the Prince nine years before, is curious. "I find him in earnest a most extreme hopeful prince, and, to speak more plainly, something much better than I expected, and a young man of more parts than ordinary, and of the better sort; that is, not lying in that kind of wit which is neither of use to oneself nor any one else, but in good, plain sense, with show of application, if he had business that deserved it, and that with extreme good, agreeable humour and dispositions, and thus far on his way without any vice; besides being sleepy always by ten o'clock at night, and loving hunting as much as he hates swearing, and preferring cock ale before any sort of wine."—Temple's *Works*, i. 285.

[1] Speaking of Monsieur Van Beverning, Sir W. Temple says: "I think he was, without dispute, the most practised and the ablest ambassador of any I ever met in the course of my employments." He mentions a comical instance of his forgetfulness of diplomatic etiquette on one occasion at Nimeguen, when, under the influence of wine and enthusiasm for the French, he met their ambassador in the public walks, he threw his arms round his neck and kissed him. — Temple's *Works*.

[2] Points of diplomatic etiquette were considered very important in those days. By giving the hand is meant the giving the position on your right in your own house. Sir W. Temple, in the course of the treaty at Nimeguen, found himself very much embarrassed by these matters; and, to obviate the

29th. I went with my Lord Ambassador Jenkins to Dieren, to the Prince; I found him in an ill house, but in a fine country; after he had talked awhile with the ambassador, he took me into his bed-chamber, where I staid above two hours. He asked me many questions, and I informed him of every thing, much to his satisfaction. Afterwards, I went to the Princess, and delivered my letters and made my compliments. I then went to dinner; Lady Inchiquen was there, and Overkirk, the young Count de Nassau, and several others. After dinner, we came again to Nimeguen.

30th. I came to Utrecht; as soon as I had supped I went into the Prince's yacht, and came all night, and about ten in the morning I got to the Hague. I sent to the Pensioner, but he was gone out of town, then to Monsieur Van Beuninghen, and he came before I could go to him.[1]

Aug. 1st. I writ to the Duke, to my Lord Sunderland, Sir W. Temple, and Mr. Mountstevens.

difficulty, he on one occasion proposed to the French ambassador the ingenious expedient of seeing him in bed; the point, however, was considered too important to be so disposed of. —Temple's *Works*.

[1] Monsieur Van Beuninghen, Burgomaster of Amsterdam, had been employed as envoy in England, at Copenhagen, and at Stockholm; and he had been ambassador at the Court of

MR. SIDNEY TO THE DUKE OF YORK.

I was not less desirous when I was in England of doing your highness all the service that lay in my power in England, than I am here, but I knew

Versailles. Voltaire, speaking of his conduct there, says, "Il avoit la vivacité d'un François et la fierté d'un Espagnol. Il se plaisoit à choquer dans toutes les occasions la hauteur imperieuse du Roi, et opposat une inflexibilité républicaine au ton de superiorité que les ministres de France commencoient à prendre." Wicquefort ranks him among the most learned men of his day, as well as among the most illustrious of ambassadors. He must have been a very remarkable Dutchman, judging from the character drawn of him by Burnet. "The last of these (Van Beuning) was so well known both in France and England, and had so great credit in his own town, that he deserves to be more particularly set out. He was a man of great notions, but talked perpetually, so that it was not possible to convince him in discourse at least, for he heard nobody speak but himself. He had a wonderful vivacity, but too much levity in his thoughts. His temper was inconstant, firm and positive for a while, but apt to change from a giddiness of mind, rather than from any falsehood of his nature. He broke twice with the Prince after he came into a confidence with him. He employed me to reconcile him to him for the third time, but the Prince said he could not trust him any more. He had great knowledge in all sciences, and had such a copiousness of invention, with such a pleasantness as well as variety of conversation, that I have often compared him with the Duke of Buckingham, only he was virtuous and devout, much in the enthusiastical way. In the end of his days, he set himself wholly to mind the East India trade, but that was an employment not so well suited to his natural

that your highness had many there, so much more capable though none more willing, that I durst never offer your royal highness mine. It may be too great a presumption in me to do it now, but however, I will venture to tell your highness that there is no man in the world upon whom your highness may more freely lay your commands, nor that will endeavour more to have them punctually obeyed than myself.

I came into this country this day se'nnight, and I went immediately to wait upon the Prince and Princess, who I found so well that I cannot believe she wants any remedies, but yet she tells me she intends to go to the baths of Aix-la-Chapelle, from which I hope she will receive all the

genius, and it ended fatally, for the actions sinking on the sudden, on the breaking out of a new war, that sunk him into a melancholy which quite distracted him. The town of Amsterdam was for many years conducted by him as by a dictator, and that had exposed them to as many errors as the irregularity of his notions suggested," i. 573. Temple, in writing about Van Beuninghen to Lord Arlington, prepares him for this terrible habit of talking. "Your lordship," he says, "will find nothing to lessen your esteem of his person, unless it be that he is not always so willing to hear as to be heard, and out of the abundance of his imagination is apt to reason a man to death . . . . . I have taken some care to prevent his supplying this talent too much in your conversations."—ii. 119.

advantage that can be expected. I beg of your highness to pardon this trouble, and that you will have the goodness to be persuaded of my being sincerely devoted to your service, and that in what part of the world I am in, you may be sure of one that will take all occasions to show how faithfully and perfectly he is your highness's most dutiful, humble, and obedient servant.

MR. SIDNEY TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Hague, August 1st.

My Lord,

On Tuesday I went with my Lord Ambassador Jenkins to the Prince, at Dieren, who received me as well as I could wish; he talked awhile with the ambassador, and then carried me into his bed-chamber; when I had delivered the King's letter and told him of the expressions of kindness which his Majesty commanded me, and informed him of several things relating to England, which he was glad to hear, and which he was extremely pleased with, showing all the sense and gratitude imaginable of the King's favours, and telling me how he would study to deserve them, he said, as to public business, you will find us better disposed

towards England than you imagine, and that you may assure yourself of it upon my word, the States will go further than you have yet desired; you, saith the Prince, only desire to enter with the States into a guarantee of the peace between France and Spain; we are willing to enter with you and Spain into the firmest and strongest league that can be proposed to us for the preservation of Europe, which is evident to every body is in great danger: we do not much approve of the project of guarantee, for by that we must defend France if it be attacked by the Emperor or any body else, which we should be unwilling to do. This is the sense of the States, and this Monsieur Van Lewen hath order to acquaint you with at London. The town of Amsterdam, saith the Prince, which every one knows hath been such a friend to France, is now forwarder against them than I myself, for that they regard nothing but just their own interest; the rest he would leave to the Pensioner and Monsieur Van Beuninghen, who hath been very instrumental to bring the town of Amsterdam into the good temper it now is in. Monsieur Valconier, burgomaster of Amsterdam, who was the Prince's greatest enemy, pretends now much the contrary, so that he and others of his party say that they find the Prince

much in the right, and they in the wrong; and are convinced that which he hath desired all along hath been for their interest and advantage, and they are very sorry they were not of this mind sooner.

The French ambassador, who hath lived with the Prince after a strange manner, never making the least civility, and perpetually saying, " qu'il etoit ambassadeur aux Etats, et pas au Prince d'Orange," will have orders to behave himself quite otherwise. I came to town yesterday morning, and I sent that afternoon to see if I could speak to the Pensioner, but he is out of town. I sent to Monsieur Van Beuninghen, and, as soon as he heard of my being here, he came to me, and, in the first place, made great professions of esteem and respect au Roi d'Angleterre; and falling afterwards to talk of the public, he told me, he had endeavoured all the ways he could how to find out a means of preserving Europe, and he found that this of the guarantee would not do it; for, he said, if the King and the States did agree upon this project, if the Spaniards were not taken in to their assistance, it would signify nothing, for we may resolve to preserve a country, but, if that country will do nothing themselves towards it, it would be impos-

sible to be done. What Monsieur Van Beuninghen said to me was only by way of discourse and advice, but he thought the Pensioner had given it to Monsieur Van Lewen in writing; he is not to be altered in his opinion, and I find it does proceed from fear of the French and of our disturbances at home. Monsieur Van Beuninghen told me the Pensioner had writ about it, and I concluded he had done it more fully than I could do it, but it seems he hath neglected it. Mr. Meredith told me of the offers that were made by Monsieur Borel to enter into a league, offensive and defensive, with this State, and they would promise never to trouble them.[1] One effect I find the Duke going over hath had already, that they are here more cautious of what measures

[1] Monsieur Borel had been Ambassador from the States at the English Court, and Burnet mentions a very curious conversation that occurred between Charles and this Dutchman. "King Charles, when he was seeking for colours for the war with the Dutch in the year 1672, urged it for one, that they suffered some of his rebels to live in their provinces. Borel, then their Ambassador, answered that it was a maxim of long standing among them, not to inquire upon what account strangers came to live in their country, but to receive them all, unless they had been concerned in conspiracies against the persons of Princes. The King told him upon that, how they had used both himself and his brother. Borel, in great simplicity, answered — 'Ha! Sire, c'etoit une autre chose: Cromwell étoit un grand homme, et il se faisoit craindre et

they take with us, and are more afraid of angering France than they were before, and Monsieur Van Beuninghen told me I might be sure it would be so. They say Monsieur Louvoy asked Monsieur Borel whether the States would not be on their side, in case they came to a rupture with Spain. Monsieur Van Beuninghen told me that nobody would dare to propose a new alliance with us, for, if France should be displeased at it, and any ill accident should happen upon it, the person who advised it would certainly be pulled to pieces by the people; that he believed nobody would doubt his affection for England, but he told me plainly he could not advise it in the condition we were now in. Every body that comes in are in a maze at the Duke's going. They said, at the French ambassador's, that he was poisoned, for he complained of a great pain in his belly.

2nd. I was with Monsieur Van Beuninghen this morning, when he told me, that it was some discontented English that came over hither that did all the mischief. In the afternoon I went to see

par terre et par mer.' This was very rough. The King's answer was—' Je me ferai craindre aussi à mon tour:' but he was scarce as good as his word." — Burnet's *History*, i., 139.

the Greffier, Monsieur Fagel,[1] who is the Pensioner's brother, and he advised me to deliver my letters of credence on Monday to the States, and to desire commissioners to tell what I had to say from the King, and to treat of any business. After I came home, the French ambassador made me a visit; and in the evening I went to Zierfleet, Monsieur Benten's[2] house; then to the Prince's house in the wood; at night I received a letter from Mr. Mountstevens, with Wakeman's trial, and one from Sir William Temple.

3rd. I dined with the maids of honour.

4th. I went this morning to the president for

[1] "The person that the Prince relied on chiefly in the affairs of Holland was Fagel, a man very learned in the law, who had a quick apprehension and a clear and ready judgment. He had a copious eloquence, more copious than exact, and was fit to carry matters with a torrent in a numerous assembly. De Witt has made great use of him, for he joined him very zealously in the carrying of the perpetual edict which he negociated with the States of Friesland, who opposed it most; and he was made Greffier or Secretary to the States-General, which is the most beneficial place in Holland. He was a pious and virtuous man, only too eager and violent, and out of measure partial to his kindred. He was vain and too apt to flatter himself; he had much heart when matters went well, but had not that courage which became a great minister on uneasy and difficult occasions."—Burnet's *History*, i., 560.

[2] This must be Sidney's mode of spelling Bentinck.

this week, whose name is Lucklama; he is deputy for the province of Frise; afterwards I came home. Mr. Car, who knows a good deal of the affairs of this country, came. In the afternoon I went to Hounslerdyke. When I came home, Mr. Meredith came to see me; he showed me the States' answer to Monsieur de Lira's[1] memorial about Maestricht. I writ to my Lord Sunderland, Lord Essex, Lord Halifax, and Mr. Hide.

MR. SIDNEY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

The Hague, August $\frac{5}{15}$.

My Lord,

Your Lordship made me so melancholy at my coming away, that I could not recover till I came hither; but, finding the Prince in so good humour, and that he hath reason to be so, hath cheered up my spirits extremely. He saith his affairs here go well enough, and if ours did so in England he should be perfectly satisfied. He had little hopes of this when I came to him, but I have now given him a good deal; I never saw a man more pleased than he was when I told him of the kindness of some of his friends in England; and I believe,

[1] The Spanish ambassador at the Hague.

when he hath a good opportunity, he will let them know how sensible he is of it. He is in a maze, how your Lordship hath done to pay off the fleet; and, till I assured him to the contrary, he imagined that some great sum was paid to you from abroad. In that and the dissolution of parliament, which were the two things which troubled him most, I think I gave him pretty good satisfaction. I have writ some other particulars, which, I am sure, will be communicated to you; and, therefore, I will now only say that there is no man in the world hath more esteem and value for you than I have, and will take all occasions of letting you see how much I am

Your humble and obedient servant,

H. SIDNEY.

MR. SIDNEY TO THE EARL OF HALIFAX.

The Hague, August $\frac{5}{15}$.

If I could tell you all the particulars of my negotiation, I am sure you would be very well satisfied; for you could not expect any thing better, (I do not mean on my part,) and that you will know with the first good opportunity. I made some proposals by the last post to my Lord Sunderland, from the Prince and Monsieur Van Beun-

inghen, which I hope you will approve of; it is thought here the only means of saving Europe; and those great men of Amsterdam that were thought of the French faction are well pleased with it; and say openly, that rather than be in danger of being used as they have been, they would chuse to submit themselves quietly to France; but if there be any appearance of their being able to make their defence, which they believe they may do with the assistance of England and Spain, they will use their uttermost endeavours to preserve their liberty. The Prince having brought the States to this resolution, it is thought he has more credit than ever he had, and by every body that I speak to, I find he hath: I am sure he deserves it, for he has abundance of good qualities; it will be a fortnight or three weeks before he comes hither, and till then he will spend most of his time a-hunting, and thinks little of business, but ever of his friends. Monsieur Van Beuninghen calls you one of his, and desires me to make you a compliment from him. All I can say for myself is but what you know already, that no man loves you better, and is more your servant than

H. SIDNEY.

MR. SIDNEY TO MR. HIDE.

The Hague, August $\frac{5}{15}$.

Sir,

By this time I believe you know that I was punctual in obeying your commands, and that you have received the boxes of pills that were delivered for you to Mrs. Frazer, but I was in so much haste I could not write at that time, which I suppose you will pardon. I can tell you nothing from hence, but that the Prince continues still at Dieren. The Princess begins her journey to-morrow towards the baths, and dines with my Lord Ambassador Jenkins, for which honour he has staid at Nimeguen this week. I had the satisfaction to see an acqnaintance of yours yesterday, and I am afraid 'tis the only thing worth seeing of that kind in the country. They tell me, that in the winter there will be a great deal of good company, but for the present it is something dismal. The Princess's maids are a great comfort to me, and on Sunday invited me to dinner. Pray do so much as to let Mrs. Frazer know that the maids of this court entertain foreign ministers, which is more I think than any of the Queens have done yet; I wish I could entertain you better, but

for the present I can only tell you this truth, that I am and ever will be

Faithfully yours,
H. SIDNEY.

6th. The Greffier was with me, and advised me to have an audience in the afternoon. The master of the ceremonies was with me, and appointed the next day for my audience.

7th. I had my audience; it was conducted by two deputies, one of Rotterdam, the other of Middleburgh; after I had been with the States, I invited them to dinner, and Colonel Fitzpatrick. In the afternoon I went to Serichamp and Monsieur de Lira.

MR. SIDNEY TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

The Hague.

Yesterday being the day appointed for my audience, two of the States' deputies came in one of their coaches, and carried me to the assembly, where a great chair was set for me just over against the President. After I had spoke to them, the President answered me in Dutch, which was afterwards interpreted to me by one of the depu-

ties; and they, knowing I could not understand what was said to me, sent me the resolution this afternoon: when they brought me back, I invited them to dinner, and three or four more; and I drank so many beer glasses, that my head aches this morning.

COPY OF THE ADDRESS.

High and mighty Lords,

His Majesty of Great Britain, the King, my master, desiring nothing more than to preserve the friendship and close alliance already established between his Majesty and this State, could not think fit to be long without a minister in this place, who shall make it his constant care and business to preserve and increase it upon all occasions: and therefore, having recalled his late ambassador[1] to employ him in his affairs at home, hath commanded me to reside here, and attend the offices necessary to so great an end. His Majesty hath commanded me to assure your Lordships of his firm resolutions, not only to observe inviolably those alliances already established between him and your Lordships, but to enter into any closer

[1] Lawrence Hyde, afterwards created Earl of Rochester, at this time one of the commissioners of the treasury.

and further measures to strengthen and confirm them, knowing very well how much the safety of both nations must depend (especially in the present conjuncture) upon a perfect friendship and entire confidence between his Majesty and your Lordships.

For my own part, I am very glad to be employed in a service of so great importance to both nations, and I shall not fail to contribute all my endeavours towards it; and your Lordships having had so many of my family engaged formerly in employments here,[1] will, I hope, take it as an earnest of my own good affection to the service of the State.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

August 8.

Yesterday the council was adjourned to the first Wednesday after Michaelmas, and the Treasury to the 22nd of September, so that we may be as idle as we please. The elections they say are likely to be at least as good as they were. The King meddles in none, which I think the

[1] In allusion to the Earl of Leicester in Queen Elizabeth's reign, who was Governor of Holland, and General of the forces there, and to his nephew, the celebrated Sir Philip Sidney, who lost his life before Zutphen.

better, but is the most resolved that can be to do all reasonable things which can be desired of him. The Duke has writ to the King to give Lady Anne leave to go to Brussels for a little time, which he has granted, and to the young lady likewise. Will Herbert and I are better friends than ever.

I am entirely yours.

Sir W. Temple will certainly be chosen at Cambridge.

MR. SIDNEY TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

The Hague.

My Lord,

We are as idle here as you can possibly be in England, for there is nothing at all to be done. The Prince, the Pensioner, and every body almost is out of town; there is only just enough of the States left to give Monsieur de Lira his audience de congé which he had yesterday, before he delivered a memorial, of which I send you a copy. I thought you would be glad to hear some particulars of my negotiation, and, not having an opportunity of writing at large, I sent you a few lines in cypher, by which you will see how people are disposed in this country. I take this time to go and see Amsterdam, and, if I can, I will be here

by the next post, but, if not, I think it will be no great matter, for I am sure there will be nothing to be writ.

I was with Monsieur Serichamps,[1] who told me of a letter he received yesterday from Frankfort, that saith they are in great apprehensions of the King of France at Strasburg; that by his motions and proceedings they do not imagine he can have any design but to beseige it: and they did verily believe his forces would sit down before it in ten or fourteen days. Here they begin to apprehend the Elector of Brandenburg; they finding by his letter that he is angry, and hearing that he is raising more troops; and so I find 'tis all the world over. Monsieur d'Avaux, speaking of the greatness of the King, his master, said, that one of his happinesses was "de faire peur à tout le monde." Monsieur Serichamps told me another thing, which I take it is fit for you to know. When Monsieur le Marischal de l'Estrades[2] went to Amsterdam to see what mischief he could do there, he did say that he had contributed very

[1] Envoy from Lorraine.

[2] Le Maréchal de l'Estrades was Ambassador at the Hague when Temple negotiated the Triple Alliance, and with Colbert had been one of the French Ambassadors at Nimeguen.

much towards our late troubles in England, and that he was not so old but that he might do something like it once more.

August 9th. I went to the Prince. Monsieur Crampricht[1] came to me. Whilst he was with me, the French Ambassador came in, and Crampricht went away. He seemed surprised at my having audience, and made scruple of sitting down. The same day the minister of the English church came to me, and told me of two nonconformists that were come over, Poole and Hill; one of them was come to print a book; his employment is worth one thousand guilders a year, that at Amsterdam is worth two thousand.

10th. I went to the English church, where I heard Dr. Hooper;[2] then I went to the French

[1] Minister at the Hague from the Emperor.

[2] The following passage is taken from a very interesting manuscript journal of Dr. Lake, Archdeacon of Exeter, who had been preceptor to the Princesses Mary and Anne, which is in the possession of Mr. Elliott of Egland :—January 28, 1678. "I had notice that Dr. Hooper, Chaplain to the late Archbishop of Canterbury, was designed to succeed Dr. Lloyd as Chaplain to the Princess of Orange in Holland, and Almoner, and accordingly was preparing for his journey, and Dr. Lloyd to return; who, by means of the Bishops of London and Rochester, was preparing to wait on her into Holland: whilst Dr. Doughty and myself, who had been her Highness's Chaplains and Tutors many years, were for some, I know not what

Ambassador, where I was received with ceremony. I dined with Monsieur de Lira. He showed me a

reasons, laid aside, which occasioned great discourses, both in the court and city, to the prejudice of Dr. Lloyd." Dr. Lake was a high churchman, Dr. Lloyd and Dr. Hooper the reverse, and we cannot be surprised to find that matters were conducted very little to his taste. He says, February 14, "About this time I had a letter out of Holland, from Mr. Lee, that the Princess was grown somewhat fat, and very beautiful withal; that she did sometimes go with Dr. Lloyd's connivance to the English congregation at the Hague; whereat I was much troubled, and so were all other honest and loyal persons who had notice of it, for this church is served by a non-conformist minister out of England, and maintained by the States to draw people hither for the increase of trade, nor would Dr. Brown suffer the late Princess Royal to be drawn thither, though in the worst of times, when there was hardly any face of a church in England; and yet the present Bishop of Winchester hath preached in that church when he was Chaplain to the Queen of Bohemia, for which his Lordship suffered much in his reputation." In 1691, when William was absent in Holland, Dr. Hooper, without any application of his own, was made Dean of Canterbury by Queen Mary. In 1703 he was nominated to the bishopric of St. Asaph, and in a few months afterwards, though very reluctantly, and at the request of Bishop Ken himself, he succeeded that prelate in the see of Bath and Wells, over which he presided for twenty-three years, having, it is said, refused the see of London on the death of Compton, and that of York on the death of Dr. Sharp. Evelyn, who had heard him preach on the 5th of November before the King on the usurpation of the church of Rome, exclaims, "This is one of the first pulpit men in the nation."—Hooper's *Life, Biog. Dic.*—Evelyn's *Mem.*, i., 536.

The Bishop of Winchester alluded to above was Dr. Morley,

memorial of his, to show how willing his master was to agree to any proposals that shall be thought of advantage to the common interest.

13th. I came from the Hague to Leyden, then to Harlem, then to Amsterdam, passed the water to Bucksloer, took another boat and came to Demeren, one of the States towns, upon the borders of the Beemster, which is a fine country. Going from Harlem to Amsterdam, one sees where the branch of the sea that is called the Ty broke in. On the other side is the Harlem Meer. I went all over the Deempster to see for horses, and came at night to Amsterdam.

14th. I went to see the Stadt House, the Court of Admiralty, the East India House, the Spein House, the house for old people; and I met Monsieur Valconier in the street; he hath half a ton of gold in the East India Company. He is a great friend to the Jews, and, though he governs the whole town, he walks about without a footman. He was taxed at two ton of gold. I went to see the magazin, the East India stores, and, coming home, I went into the Jews' synagogue.

who died at a very advanced age in 1684. Speaker Onslow says of him, "that he was a generous and charitable man, and of great public spirit. He left but a small estate to his family, considering what he might have done for them."—Burnet, ii., 428.

15th. I went to see Monsieur Valconier, who was very civil, and took it mighty kindly my coming to see him. He told me I was come into a poor country, that was quite ruined by the war, but that they should still make a shift to live, if they could continue at peace with the King of France and England; but that without trade they could not live, for that in the seven provinces there was but 500,000 acres, and 1,000,000 of people, 300,000 in Amsterdam. He offered me the civilities of the town. I went to the synagogue, and saw their service. The Jews are not suffered to be buried in the town, but two leagues off. I went home afterwards with Don Jeronimo d'Acosta, where he showed me some fine jewels; he told me such a pearl was not to be had, and that he would willingly give two hundred crowns apiece for them. I afterwards went to see another merchant, who had a necklace which he valued at 5,000 crowns, and one bigger than that. I saw the hospital for boys and girls, the Gust Huis, and the Nunnery, which are Ursulines; in the afternoon I saw several fine merchants' houses, Mr. Gerard's and his mother's, and then Mr. Stiles, who is worth ten ton of gold, and we talked a good deal with him; we met a man whose

name is Ormes, who had paid since this war £15,000 with paying the two hundredth penny. The town of Amsterdam hath paid £40,000 with paying the two hundredth penny. They are mightily inclined to France; Monsieur d'Estrades and Monsieur d'Avaux gain vastly, and I was told that I should never do my business here. This town of Amsterdam hath a provision of corn for fourteen years; they are obliged to have it for seven: they have great credit. An action in the East India Company goes at £422; money in the bank is worth four in the hundred more than ready money. The Jews lend the King of Spain money, and he engages the excise and custom at one of his great towns.

17th. I went to see the Lutheran church, where there was a great congregation; then I went to see the Armenian, which was but small, though there be many in the town, and rich men: I saw the reformed church, which is the religion of the country, and none of any other can bear any office in the State. I saw the fortifications and the sluices. Coming home I saw a curtain in the window, where all those are married that are not of the allowed religion every Sunday.

18th. At four in the morning I arrived at the

Hague, and had letters given me from Mr. Saville, the Duke of York, Lady Sunderland, Dowager, and others.

MR. SIDNEY TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

The Hague, August 19.

My Lord,

I came yesterday from Amsterdam, where I saw a great many fine things, and little worth giving you an account of. I made Monsieur Valconier a visit more out of curiosity than kindness, though he is now pretty well inclined to us. I had a mind to see what kind of a man it was that could make himself so absolute as he hath done in that town: for I assure you the great Turk hath not more absolute dominion and power over any of his countrymen than he hath at Amsterdam; what he saith is ever done without any contradiction; he turns out and puts in who he likes, raises what money he pleases, does whatever he has a mind to, and yet he walks about the streets just like an ordinary shopkeeper. He complains mightily of their poverty, and saith this war hath almost quite ruined them; but he hopes, if it please God, to let them have peace with the King of England and the King of France, that they may recover.

MR. MONTAGUE[1] TO MR. SIDNEY.

London, August 11th, —79.

You are, I presume, so much taken up with politics, that a letter from a man that is out of them, and that is in town when the Court is at

[1] Ralph Montague, afterwards created Duke of Montague, by Queen Anne. Swift says of him, that he was "as arrant a knave as any in his time," and certainly there are some well known passages in his life, which, little as Swift is to be trusted in the characters he draws of his contemporaries, prove that he was not far wrong in his estimate of Mr. Montague.

Montague had been Ambassador at Paris, an employment for which, to judge from a note of Lord Dartmouth's in Burnet's History, he was indebted more to the partiality and influence of the fair sex than to his own merits. "Montague told Sir William Temple, he designed to go Ambassador to France. Sir William asked how that could be, for he knew the King did not love him, and the Duke hated him. 'That's true,' said he, 'but they shall do as if they loved me.' Which, Sir William told, he soon brought about, as he supposed by means of the ladies, who were always his best friends for some secret perfections that were hid from the rest of the world." If he owed this appointment to woman's love, he lost it through woman's jealousy. When he was at Paris he had been very intimate with the Duchess of Cleveland, and there are several letters in this collection written by him to Sidney in 1678, in each of which he alludes to her. In May in that year, he writes thus from Paris:

"I received yours by John Hill. I am glad to hear my Lady Cleveland looked so well. I do not wonder at it—I will always lay on her side against everybody — I am a little scandalized you have been but once to see her—pray make

Windsor, cannot be of much use to you. My wife is well brought to bed of a son, and I am going into the country to be chosen if I can of the new

your court oftener for my sake, for no man can be more obliged to another than I am to her on all occasions, and tell her I say so, and, as my Lord Berkeley says, give her a pat from me. If you keep your word to come in June, I fancy you will come together, and I shall not be ill pleased to see the two people in the world of both sexes I love and esteem the most." She did return to Paris in June, and found him engaged in a new intrigue with her own daughter, Lady Sussex. Furious at this, she betrayed a secret political intrigue of his to the King, which lost him for ever the favour of his master. Burnet gives this account of it. "The King had ordered Montague, his late Ambassador at Paris, in the year 1678, to find out an astrologer, of whom it was no wonder he had a good opinion, for he had long before his restoration foretold that he should enter London on the 29th of May, 1660. He was yet alive, and Montague found him out, and saw that he was capable of being corrupted, so he resolved to prompt him to send the King such hints as could serve his own ends; and he was so bewitched with the Duchess of Cleveland, that he trusted her with this secret. She, growing jealous of a new amour, took all the ways she could to ruin him, reserving this of the astrologer for her last shift; and by it she compassed her ends. For Montague was entirely lost upon it with the King, and came over without being recalled." Among other passages in the letter which the Duchess of Cleveland wrote to Charles, and which is full of specimens of the "furens quid fœmina possit," is this:—"He (Montague) has neither conscience nor honour, and has several times told me that in his heart he despised you and your brother, and for his part he wished with all his heart, that the parliament would send you both to travel, for you were a dull governable fool, and the Duke a wilful fool. So that it were

parliament where your brother Algernon is already chosen, but upon a double return. So that I shall have an opportunity of shewing my respect to him

yet better to have you than him; but that you always chose a greater beast than yourself to govern you."

On his return to England, he became one of the most prominent of the popular party; he quarrelled with Lord Danby, whose secret treaty of peace with Louis, which he had himself negotiated, he betrayed to the Commons, and was the cause of that minister being impeached. If he succeeded in ruining him, he was to receive from Louis no less a sum than 100,000 crowns; and we find from Barillon's letters that 50,000 were actually paid to him.

Montague took a leading part in furthering the Bill of Exclusion; and when the tide turned in favour of the King and the Duke of York, he thought it best to betake himself to his old quarters at Paris, where Burnet fell in with him in 1685. With William's success his star again was in the ascendant, and in 1689 he was created Earl of Montague. In 1694, we find him applying to the King for a dukedom, and urging his pretensions in this strain. "I did not think it reasonable to ask the being put over the Duke of Shrewsbury's head, but now, Sir, that you have given him that rank, which the greatness of his family and personal merit has deserved, I may, by your Majesty's grace and favour, pretend to the same dignity as well as any of the families you have promoted, being myself the head of a family that many years ago had great honours and dignities, when I am sure these had none, and we having lost them by the civil wars between York and Lancaster, I am now below the younger branches, my Lord Manchester, and my Lord Sandwich. I have to add to my pretention, the having married the Duke of Newcastle's eldest daughter, and it has been the practise of all your predecessors, whenever they

when his election comes to be disputed.[1] The King, when he heard he was elected, said he did

were so gracious as to keep up the honour of a family by the female line, to bestow it upon those who married the eldest, without there were some personal prejudice to the person who had that claim. I may add, Sir, another pretension, which is the same for which you have given a Dukedom to the Bedford family, the having been one of the first, and held out to the last in that cause which, for the happiness of England, brought you to the crown. I hope it will not be thought a less merit to be alive and ready on all occasions to venture all again for your service, than if I had lost my head when my Lord Russel did."

The claim thus advanced on the ground of his marriage with the eldest daughter of the Duke of Newcastle was a bold one. This lady, who was his second wife, was the widow of the Duke of Albemarle, and possessed immense riches by marriage and inheritance. Her head was completely turned, and she declared she would give her hand only to a sovereign Prince. Montague wooed and won her in the character of the Emperor of China, and he kept her in a sort of confinement in Montague House, where she was always served upon the knee as Empress of China.

William refused his request, but he obtained his object under his successor, by whom he was created Duke of Montague, and Viscount Monthermer. He died at Montague House, in 1709, having, according to Collins, lived with as great a splendour and as much magnificence as any man in Great Britain.—Burnet, Harris's *Lives* (*Appendix.*) Mrs. Jameson's *Beauties of the Court of Charles II.*

[1] This respect, as he calls it, so promptly offered and apparently without reference to the merits of the case, of which we have heard something in later days, was unavailing. Algernon Sidney's return for Guildford was found not to be good.

believe Mr. Algernon Sydney would prove an honest man. If Mr. Henry comes into the house and proves like his brother, I am afraid I shall not be of his Majesty's opinion.

However I am truly yours,

R. MONTAGUE.

MR. HYDE[1] TO MR. SIDNEY.

St. James Street, August 18th.

I was in the county of Wiltshire using my endeavours to be sent up to serve my country in

[1] Lawrence Hyde, created Earl of Rochester by Charles II. was the second son of Lord Chancellor Clarendon. In the parliament called after the Restoration, he was chosen one of the representatives of the University of Oxford; and in October 1661, we find him appointed with Lord Crofts and Sir Charles Berkely in their mission to Paris, to congratulate the King of France on the birth of the Dauphin. On his return he was promoted from the household of the Duke of York, whose first wife was Hyde's sister, and with whom he seems always to have been a great favourite, to be master of the robes to the King. In 1676, he was sent Ambassador Extraordinary to John Sobieski, King of Poland. In obedience to the directions of his Court, he returned home by Vienna, charged with letters of condolence from his master to the Emperor, upon the death of his wife. Finding, however, upon his arrival that he needed none, having married again, he very wisely said nothing about it, but passed quietly through that capital into Holland, where he was met by a commission appointing him one of the mediators of peace at Nimeguen, in which treaty, however, he only took a nominal part, and soon afterwards he was sent on a mission to the Prince of

the new parliament, when your favour of the 5-15th instant came hither, which hindered me from receiving it till my return on Saturday last, and consequently from paying you the thanks due for

Orange. In 1679, he was made one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, and soon afterwards the First Lord, and as such he was at this period associated with Lord Sunderland and Godolphin in the chief management of the King's affairs.

In 1681, he was created Viscount and Baron Hyde; in 1683, Earl of Rochester; and upon the accession of James II. he was made Lord High Treasurer. From this post he was removed in 1686, through the intrigues of Lord Sunderland and Father Peter the Jesuit, who represented to the King that he must never expect to carry his measure, the Abolition of the Test Act, so long as the opposition was led by one of his own ministers. James was as reluctant to part with his old servant as the servant was to leave his master, and employed two Roman Catholic divines to convert him. Rochester, though he allowed that "they had discoursed learnedly, and that he would attentively consider their arguments," adhered to his own religious creed. James parted with his old favourite with tears, and granted him an estate of £1700 a year, and an annuity of £4000. In the convention parliament, he strongly maintained the doctrine of hereditary right; he was one of the strenuous advocates for a Regency, and would certainly have lost his pension, but for the intercession of Bishop Burnet. In 1700, he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, but, having been dismissed from his employment by Queen Anne, he entered strongly into opposition to the Court, and was long considered the head of the High Church party. With him originated the proposal of bringing over the Princess Sophia in 1705; the opposition to the Regency Bill, and the Union Bill in 1707. In 1710, through the influence of Harley, the Queen became reconciled to him; he was appointed

so much kindness to me, and for remembering the little commission I took the liberty to give you about the pills, which I have not yet received, but thank you as much as if I had. Since you have

President of the Council; and it is said he was designed for the office of Lord High Treasurer, when death removed him, in 1712. His character has been thus drawn by Sir James Mackintosh. "Lawrence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, was Lord Sunderland's most formidable competitor for the chief direction of public affairs. He owed this importance rather to his position and connexions than to his abilities, which however were by no means contemptible; he was the undisputed leader of the Tory party, to whose highest principles in Church and State he shewed a constant and probably conscientious attachment. He had adhered to James in every variety of fortune, and was the uncle of the Princesses Mary and Anne, who seemed likely in succession to inherit the crown; he was a fluent speaker, and appears to have possessed some part of his father's talents as a writer; he was deemed sincere and upright, and his life was not stained by any vice, except violent paroxysms of anger and an excessive indulgence in wine, then scarcely deemed a fault. His infirmities, says one of the most zealous adherents of his party, were passion, in which he would swear like a cutter, and the indulging himself in wine; but his party was that of the Church of England, of whom he had the honour for many years of being accounted the head. The impetuosity of his temper concurred with his opinions on government in prompting him to vigorous measures; he disdained the forms and details of business, and it was his maxim to prefer only Tories without regard to their qualifications for office. "Do you not think," said he to Lord Keeper Guildford, "that I cannot understand any business in England in a month?" "Yes, my Lord," answered the Keeper, "but I be-

taken so much care about them, I should make you more apology for giving you that trouble, but that I intend to employ the health you may help me to by them in your service if there be any occasion for it while I am Commissioner of the Treasury, or in any other way that you shall judge me worthy to be employed in it.

I wish you joy of your new acquaintance you tell me you have made. I will only say for your comfort "dans le royaume des aveugles," you know who are kings, and I wish everything there were better for your sake, there being nobody to

lieve you will understand it better in two." Even his personal defects and unreasonable maxims were calculated to attach adherents to him as a chief, and he was well qualified to be leader of a party ready to support all the pretensions of any King who supported the Protestant establishment." Lord Dartmouth in one of his notes says, "I never knew a man who was so soon put into a passion, or was so long before he could bring himself out of it, in which he would say things which were never forgot by any but himself. In Reresby's Memoirs, there is an account of a furious debauch in wine, in which he and Lord Chancellor Jefferies were engaged with Mr. Alderman Duncomb, when they drank themselves into that height of frenzy, that among friends it was whispered they had stripped unto their shirts, and that, had not an accident prevented them, they had got upon a sign-post to drink the King's health, which he adds was the subject of much derision, to say no worse."—*Preface to the Correspondence of Lord Hyde.* Reresby's *Memoirs.*

whom I wish more happiness, and am with greater sincerity and concern a most faithful humble servant,

L. HYDE.

The Duke's daughters go to-morrow from hence to Brussels, which is all the news I know to send you, and that my Lord Ossory was to go over with them, but he does not.

MR. HARBORD[1] TO MR. SIDNEY.

Grafton Park, August 18th.

The last night, yours of the 18th instant came, and brought me the good news of your good

[1] This Mr. Harbord, who "loves honest, plain-dealing people," might well have his fears of "what foreign interests, foreign courts, councils, and money, may have introduced among the bigger sort," having himself pocketed some, though not much, of the French King's money. The sum for which he is set down in Barillon's list is 500 guineas. "Mr. Harbord," says Barillon, writing to his master in 1678, "is another of those whom I have made use of, and who bore an active part in the affair of the Treasurer and the disbanding of the troops, but it would be difficult to employ him at present. He has considerable credit among people in the country. He would be more fit, if a minister were to be attacked, than he will be to speak in parliament against an alliance which the Court would make and the other party hinder. These four (Baker,

health, which I assure you no man wishes more heartily than myself. Our friend Mr. Montague is now at Newport Pagnell, on his way to Northampton, to be chosen there, which he will without

Lyttleton, Powle, and Harbord), have touched what was promised them, when the disbanding of the troops should be finished and the High Treasurer removed from affairs." And again he writes: "Mr. Harbord is the same whom I engaged in the affair of the High Treasurer. He is a friend of Mr. Montague's, but has not the same connections with the Duke of Monmouth; on the contrary, he appears to be in the Prince of Orange's interest. Through him I have engaged many persons of great credit in Parliament and in London. He is an active, vigilant man, from whom I have very good information, and who has a great desire to make his fortune by means of France."—Dalrymple's *Mem.* i. 358.

During Charles's reign, Harbord was one of the most violent opponents of the Court party. He took a very active part with Montague against Danby, and was one of the warmest advocates in the House for the Bill of Exclusion. No wonder, therefore, that he left England soon after the accession of James, attended upon the Prince of Orange, and engaged heartily in his cause at the time of the revolution. "I," says the Earl of Clarendon, "and my company supped together at my lodgings (Hungerford); Sir John Hotham and William Harbord supped with us. They discoursed much against the meeting of Parliament, which was summoned, saying that, by their having been so long out of England, attending upon the Prince of Orange, they could not expect to be chosen, if they had not time to go down into their counties, as if it could not be a good Parliament, in case those gentlemen were not in it. Mr. Harbord said he had drawn his sword against

difficulty or opposition, and indeed without any considerable expense, which, added to the favour which his lady hath lately done him, makes him happy enough till the meeting of parliament. As

the King, that he had no need of his pardon, but that they would bring the King to ask pardon of them, for the wrongs he had done. In a word, their discourse was so seditious, that I was easily confirmed in my opinion, that no good was intended by them who came over with the Prince."—Clarendon's *Diary*, ii. 219. What office or place was conferred upon Harbord after the revolution does not appear; but from the following amusing account of a quarrel which took place in the House of Commons, in 1689, between himself and Mr. Bertie, and which was adjusted in the usual parliamentary way, it seems that he was then employed in the "King's business."

Mr. Hampden. I have taken notice of some angry words betwixt these two gentlemen; I move that they may stand up, man by man, and engage, upon their honours, not to proceed further in this difference.

The Speaker. Let both the gentlemen stand up at one time, and no priority or precedency in the declaration.

Mr. Harbord. The gentleman [Mr. Bertie] is of too much honour to engage one that has not the use of either of his hands. If I have been ill used, I cannot pass my word not to proceed farther without satisfaction; therefore, pray consider with yourselves what you have to do. It is a hard thing for me to acknowledge that I have received an injury, and require no reparation for it.

The Speaker. The two gentlemen say nothing; you must lay the commands of the house upon them to declare.

Mr. Harbord. I do not conceive myself injured at all.

Mr. Bertie. I apprehended Harbord reflected upon me as

for myself, I have had a rub in my matters at Thetford. My Lord Chamberlain, thinking it very hard that his servant Sir Joseph[1] should so constantly be chosen under his nose and quite exclude him, writ to him to desist in favour of his brother; and in answer, that worthy gentleman begged his pardon as for himself, but offered his assistance to bring Sir John Bennet into my place. Whether he

a Pensioner. I thought I was reflected upon about the election at Westbury.

Mr. Garroway. The whole these gentlemen stand upon is a punctilio, who shall stand up first and declare. I would write both their names and put them in a hat, and let them draw out and declare.

Mr. Bertie. If Harbord will say he intended no personal reflection upon me, I will be satisfied.

The Speaker. It is no dishonour to put these persons under restraint, for it is your work and order; and then friends may interpose.

Mr. Harbord. Do you think imprisoning me would frighten me to petition for release? I do not think myself injured, and can it be thought a man of my age would quarrel when I am not injured? If you do commit me, *what will become of the King's business?* * * * *

Mr. Harbord. To put an end to this, write down what I should say, and I will say it, and obey you.

The Speaker proposed these words to be spoken by the two gentlemen, *viz.*—"I do promise, upon my word and honour, not to prosecute any quarrel upon this occasion;" which was accordingly done.

[1] Sir Joseph Williamson.

could have effected it or no, I know not, but my Lord Chamberlain most generously declined that motion. However, these contests put off my election till Friday last, and me from having an account of it till this morning, which saith that on Thursday last the precept came to the mayor, and that the very next morning Sir Joseph and myself were unanimously chosen without the least opposition, so that matter is over. I have done Sir W. Temple all the good I can at Cambridge, and I do not doubt that he will be chosen there also. Sir Henry Capel will be elected in two if not in three places; as at Tewkesbury, his old borough: for the county of Brecknock, in Wales; and for Shoreham, in Sussex; for Mr. Hales, to whom he inclined to surrender that interest, is chosen at Hythe, one of the Cinque Ports. But that you may be assured of my care, I have sent my deputy auditor into Cornwall, to Launceston, to secure my being chosen there, and to tell them that I design to be with them as soon as I received their answer, which I expect every hour, and so ride a journey of 200 miles on horseback outright, and this without compliment is done to serve yourself and Sir W. Temple, that so which of you wants it may have it; the preference being wholly yours. So

that I think you will without a doubt be a member, as is your brother Algernon. I assure you that I never fail my friends, nor will I ever be wanting to do you all the service in my power.

I am overjoyed to hear the news you give of the Prince; I wish we were as wise, and understood our interests as well, and had justice and courage in our hearts to pursue it. I have not the honour to be known to his Highness, but, I assure you, that no man in this kingdom wishes him better, nor is more his friend than myself, nor loves the honest plain-dealing people more than I do, for such I ever found the common Hollander to be in his calling, be it great or small. What foreign interests, foreign courts, councils, and money, may have introduced among the bigger sort, I know not, but I hope they are too wise to part with their religion and liberties to him, who waits hourly an opportunity to ravish both theirs and ours, unless the wisdom of these two nations, by a strict conjunction and that honesty maintained on both sides, prevent it, which, I hope, considering the station you are in, will depend much on you to further.

If you can find an opportunity to recommend me to his Highness' good opinion, pray do it heartily.

You know the plain paths I tread. I hear his ways are such, which is the great ground of the great value I have for him, and the service I would gladly pay him on all occasions.

I do not find any great gall in the new elections, but even that not only men in places, but long parliament men, and even my Lord Danby's pensioners, come in promiscuously. So that I trust in God the same calmness in the House will answer that of the kingdom; and that we may yet live to see our poor religion unshaken, and our liberties preserved, his Majesty live in great honour and plenty, and England make that figure in the world she ought and must do, unless God, tired of his continual blessings bestowed upon us, intend for our ingratitude to plunge us into those miseries which threaten so apparently this kingdom.

I am, Sir,

Your most faithful servant,

W. HARBORD.

August 20. I was visited by the Bishop of Munster's agent; I went to see Monsieur Spiegle, the Holstein minister, and Monsieur Van Beuninghen, who is still of the same mind, that there is nothing

to be done so well as a league with Spain, and desires me to write to my Lord Sunderland so.

21st. Mr. Bracy was with me, a gentleman of Dort, of the English faction, and who desires to be of the council of Holland, which Sir W. Temple had undertaken. Afterwards, Monsieur de Groot, minister of the Elector Palatine, came to me. He is nephew of Hugo Grotius. Sir Alexander Collier was with me in the afternoon. I went to see Mr. Rockwood, who told me how the French ambassador took place of the Prince Elector's base son, that he had not yet been with him, because he did not know whether his master would suffer him to yield the *pas* to him.

24th. Mr. Meredith told me of one Serjeant, a priest, a friend of Coleman[1] that fled hither, and, being asked by Mr. Rockwood if there was any plot, he said he could not be so disingenuous as to deny it absolutely to him, and therefore he would confess to him that they had thoughts of bringing in their religion, and, in order to do it, they desired that as many as could should be employed in the army. He said he believed that the Jesuits had the design of taking away the King's life, which they called

[1] Coleman the Jesuit.

bringing their business about in a natural way, but we, said he, would never admit of such a thing.[1]

28th. Colonel Fitz'Patrick and I had a great deal of discourse of this country: he told me they were in an ill condition, that they owed sixty mil-

[1] "It is first to be remembered that there was really and truly a Popish plot in being, though not that which Titus Oates and his associates pretended to reveal — not merely in the sense of Hume, who, arguing from the general spirit of proselytism in that religion, says there is a perpetual conspiracy against all governments, Protestant, Mahometan, and Pagan; but one, alert, enterprising, effective, in direct operation against the established Protestant religion in England. In this plot the King, the Duke of York, and the King of France, were chief conspirators; the Romish priests, and especially the Jesuits, were eager co-operators. * * * *

"The conspiracy, supposed to have been concerted by the Jesuits, at St. Omers, and in which so many English Catholics were implicated, chiefly consisted, as is well known, in a scheme of assassinating the King. Though the obvious falsehood and absurdity of much that the witnesses deposed in relation to this plot render it absolutely incredible, and fully acquit those unfortunate victims of iniquity and prejudice, it could not appear at the time an extravagant supposition, that an eager, intriguing faction should have considered the King's life a serious obstacle to their hopes. * * * *

"Nothing could have been more anxiously wished at St. Omers than the death of Charles; and it does not seem improbable that the atrocious fictions of Oates may have been originally suggested by some actual though vague projects of assassination, which he had heard in discourse among the ardent spirits of that college."—Hallam's *Const. Hist.* ii. 572.

lions, and paid £50,000 every year for interest, and that some of their soldiers had not been paid for these three years.

29th. The Pensioner was with me: we had a great deal of discourse about the guarantee, and then about the merchants, whom he will assist, but he advises them to have patience for a while. I writ to Mr. Godolphin, to Lord Sunderland, and to Mr. Spencer, for some money, and to the Duke.

30th. I received letters from Lord Sunderland, Lady Sunderland, and others.

THE COUNTESS OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

August 15.

I received yours of the 5-15 last night, just as I came to Windsor, and upon my word I was gladder of it than I have been of any thing a great while; the marks of your friendship being more precious to me than you can imagine. I have not writ to you since your going because I was at Althorpe, from whence I could say nothing but what you must be sure of without repetition, my being most unalterably your friend, absent and present, to the last of my life, and, if you need a letter to confirm your

assurance, let me tell you, you are not worthy of it, but I hope better from you.

My Lord and I, whenever we meet, bewail your absence; this very day he said he was not able to bear your being away longer than October, and I thought that too long for more reasons than one; for, besides the friendship I have for you, indeed you are wanted for advice. I have somewhat on my spirits, that I must of necessity communicate to you, but 'tis a secret[1] of such vast consequence, that I am ruined if it be known to any body living. Therefore I dare not venture it but by an express, and then in cipher. I will get my Lord's to copy, but he must not know the secret less than any body else, but it imports you and him and all of us. It has given me the spleen more than I ever had it in my life. Pray, when you know it, let it die with you, and resolve to follow my advice in the assisting me, for you are equally concerned.

For God's sake, burn my letters! I am fancying I am talking to you, and the trust I put in you leads me into a disclosing my thoughts beyond what is fit for a post. If you know of any express, be

[1] This great secret, which Lady Sunderland is so anxious to keep from her Lord, must remain a mystery. The letter alluded to, if it ever was written, has not been preserved.

pleased to let me have notice; the business will yet stay a fortnight, but, between this and that, if there happen to be none, I'll send on purpose, but let not my Lord, I conjure you, know of this, though he is chiefly concerned, his good and welfare being the most precious worldly thing I have, and 'tis allowable to cozen one's friends, when 'tis plainly for their good, and I think it will not deserve so ill a name as cozening, though I give it that which, generally speaking, is a word which ought not to be allowed among true friends.

I have been so little a time here that I know nothing, and really my head and heart are so full of this, I can think of nothing else.

I am sincerely yours.

I am much better in health than I was, which you told me you would be glad to know. The King and Queen, who is now a mistress, the passion her spouse has for her is so great, go both to Newmarket the 18th of September, together with the whole court.

I am glad with all my soul for the good reception you say your letters and what they contained received at the Hague. For God's sake, cherish that plant, which is the only prop we have left to sup-

port our tottering house, which, without great industry, will be undermined; but this is between you and I only. Remember the fright we were all in a little before you left England; 'tis that I am to write to you about. So ease my troubled mind, for I smell a rat.

Mr. Gilbert Spencer is in hopes you may be chose; you see how hard it is to leave off when one is writing to one who is trusted as you are, and with so good reason.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

Windsor, August 19.

Sir,

I have showed your last letters to the King, who does approve of your dispatches. He is of opinion that the best way of securing the peace of Europe, and particularly the Spanish Low Countries, is to make a firm union between him and Holland first, and then to take in Spain, the Emperor, and any other powers or states who apprehend the greatness of France. This will be much easier than to begin to treat at first with Spain and Holland together, which is difficult for a hundred reasons, both from our temper here, and from the delays

which the Spaniards put to every thing. Therefore, the King will stick to the project of the guarantee, of which you have a copy, and, as soon as Monsieur Van Lewin has his powers, we shall offer it to him. I have not yet read your cipher, for I left mine in London, whither I shall go in a day or two.

The Queen goes to Newmarket, and all the ladies. My uncle Algernon is a Parliament man, and had thoughts of standing in Sussex, and is very angry with you for pretending to any thing he had a mind to.

We want you most extremely here.

I am entirely yours,

SUNDERLAND.

LORD HALIFAX[1] TO MR. SIDNEY.

London, August 18, 79.

I am to thank you for two of yours, the last of which was delivered first to me. I will say little to the kind part of either of them, my good

[1] "Sir George Saville, Viscount, Earl, and at length Marquis of Halifax, was the Prime Minister of Charles during the latter years of his life. He was a man of a fine genius and lively imagination, but, as a politician, was rather guided by a desire to display the full extent of artful and nice management of parties, than by any steady and consistent principle

opinion of you having been so long fixed, and being every day increased by your repeated marks of friendship, that all I can say of it is, that it is at its full growth, and I could wish no more for

of his own. He was at the head of the small party called Trimmers, who affected a sort of neutrality between the Whig and Tory, and were of course hated and suspected by both. He originally made a figure in opposition to the Court, particularly upon the great debate concerning the Test, which he keenly opposed. He voted at first for the Bill of Exclusion, and used the jocular argument against hereditary government, that no man would chuse a man to drive a carriage because his father had been a good coachman. But when that great question came finally to be debated in the House of Lords, on the 15th of November, 1680, Halifax had changed his opinion, and even conducted the opposition to the bill, and displayed an extent of capacity and eloquence equally astonishing to friends and foes, and which, perhaps, was never surpassed in that assembly . . . . The House of Commons was so incensed against Halifax, that they voted an address for his removal from the King's councils; the King, however, found his advantage in the fine and balancing policy of Halifax, and, far from consenting to his disgrace, promoted him to the rank of Marquis and office of Privy Seal, which was scarcely more displeasing to the Whigs than to the Duke of York. To the overbearing measures of this prince, Halifax was secretly a determined opponent. It was his uniform object to detach Monmouth so far from the violent councils and party of Shaftesbury, that the interest he still retained in the King's affections might be employed as a counterbalance to that of his brother. He prevailed on the King to see Monmouth after the discovery of the Rye House Plot, and, had the Duke proved

the good of the world than that the public friendships were as well established where we would place them. You will have it from better hands that the project you mention is not approved of

more practicable, it is possible that, backed by the interest of Halifax, he might have regained his place in the King's favour. Upon this occasion, the Duke of York was not consulted, and made open show of his displeasure. Halifax told Sir J. Reresby that the Duke would never forgive him. It is even said that, immediately before the death of Charles, there was a scheme in agitation under the management of Halifax for recalling Monmouth, sending York to Scotland, calling a parliament, and changing the violent measures of the last two years. If so, it was prevented by the King's death, and Halifax was left exposed to the resentment of his successor. For some time, James, in consideration of his great services during the dependence of the Bill of Exclusion, treated him with seeming confidence; but, finding him unwilling to go to the lengths he proposed in religious matters, and particularly in the proposed repeal of the Test Acts, he was totally disgraced. After this period, the Marquis of Halifax was engaged with those lords who invited the Prince of Orange over, and joined so cordially in the revolution that he was made Keeper of the Seals by King William. He died in April, 1695."

"Amidst the various political changes of this thoroughpaced statesman, it ought not to be forgotten that, though he sided with the Court during the last years of King Charles, his counsels were a salutary check upon the arbitrary measures urged by the Duke of York, and that he probably merited the praise which Dryden elsewhere bestows upon him, of preventing a civil war, and extinguishing a growing fire which was just ready to break forth." — Sir W. Scott's *Somers' Tracts*, viii. 222.—Dryden's *Works*, ix. 305.

here; and, presuming that you will be told the reasons at the same time, I do believe you will acquiesce in them. Other men may propose to themselves other hopes, but mine are all restrained to the person and character of the Prince, whose interest with the States and influence upon the country is that which must keep things firm and steady, and, without that, I look upon every thing there as floating and changeable, and their government would be as unsafe to build an alliance, as most of their ground is to build a house upon. But from the good sense and vigour of the Prince I hope every thing; and pray, as the best and kindest office you can do me, endeavour to represent me as I am towards him, and you shall not run any hazard of forfeiting your credit with him by engaging for me. You will remember to say something for me to Monsieur Van Beuninghen: thus you see how little scruple I make to trouble you with my small commissions.

I go to Windsor to-morrow for some days, being forced to live between both, neither here nor there, which is not so pleasant a method as that I should make it my choice; but it must be submitted to. When the elections are all made, we shall be able to give some judgment of the complexion of the

Parliament, and so give a near guess what we are to hope and fear from their meeting.

We dined the other day at Sheen, where you were remembered, as you shall ever be, with particular kindness, by

Your most faithful, humble servant,

HALIFAX.

MR. GODOLPHIN[1] TO MR. SIDNEY.

Windsor, August 18, 1679.

I know not why I give you the trouble of a letter from hence, unless it be either to let you see

[1] Sidney Godolphin, afterwards Earl Godolphin, and Lord High Treasurer of England, was the third son of Francis Godolphin, of a very ancient family in Cornwall. He had great natural abilities, and was liberally educated. He was made one of the Grooms of the Bedchamber by Charles II. In 1678, he was twice sent as Envoy to the Hague; the next year he was made one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, and a member of the Privy Council. In 1680, he openly declared for the Bill of Exclusion, and, in the debate in council whether the Duke should return to Scotland before the Parliament met, he joined with Lord Sunderland in advising his going there, in which the King acquiesced. In 1684, he was appointed one of the Secretaries of State, which he soon resigned for that of Chief Commissioner of the Treasury, when he was created Baron Godolphin of Railton, in Cornwall. On the accession of James, he was appointed Lord Chamberlain to the

my own dulness, or else to convince you that other places have their share of it as well as the Hague.

Queen, and, on the removal of the Earl of Rochester, was again made one of the Commissioners of the Treasury. He was one of the three Commissioners sent by James to treat with the Prince of Orange. He voted for the Regency; nevertheless, he was appointed one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury and a Privy Councillor; and, in 1690, he was made First Lord of the Treasury.

On the accession of Queen Anne, he became the Lord High Treasurer, a post which he had refused to accept till pressed to it by the Duke of Marlborough, who declared that he could not go the continent to command the armies, unless the Treasury were put into his hands. He filled this office with high honour and ability, and it was Lord Godolphin who prevailed upon Queen Anne to settle her revenue of the first fruits and tenths for the augmentation of small livings.

In 1704, he was made Knight of the Garter; and, in 1706, he was created Earl Godolphin. He was removed from his office of Lord High Treasurer in 1710, and died two years afterwards. Bishop Burnet says "that he was the silentest and modestest man who was perhaps ever bred in a court. He had a clear apprehension, and despatched business with great method, and with so much temper that he had no personal enemies. But his silence begot a jealousy which hung long upon him. His notions were for the Court, but his incorrupt and sincere way of managing the concerns of the Treasury created in all people a very high esteem for him. He loved gaming the most of any man of business I ever knew, and gave one reason for it, because it delivered him from the obligation to talk much. He had true principles of religion and virtue, and never heaped up wealth. So that, all things laid together, he was one of the worthiest and wisest men who was employed

The truth is, here is very little matter for a letter, and no discourse but of elections, who is like to

in that age."—Chalmers' *Univ. Biog.* Subsequent discoveries, by which it appears that Godolphin, whilst in the service of his master, William III., kept up a correspondence with James, would have probably induced Burnet to qualify this high praise.

Godolphin and Evelyn were great friends. There is a curious letter written by Evelyn to Godolphin when he was first Commissioner of the Treasury, in 1696, in which he touches upon matters not a little interesting in the present day. Amongst many suggestions there offered, he says, "There is certainly wanting a Council of Trade . . . . composed of a wise, publique-spirited, active, and noble President, a select number of Assessors, sober, industrious, and dextrous men, of consummate experience in rebus agendis . . . . . To these should likewise be committed the care of the manufactures of the kingdom, with stock for employment of the poore: by which might be moderated that unreasonable statute for their relief (as now in force), occasioning more idle persons, who charge the public without all remedy, than otherwise there would be, insufferably burdening the parishes, by being made to earn their bread honestly, who now eate it in idleness, and take it out of the mouths of the truly indigent, much inferior in number, and worthy objects of charity." Again, "Truly, my Lord, I cannot but wonder, and even stand amazed, that Parliaments should have sate from time to time, so many hundred years, and value their constitution to that degree as the most sovereign remedy for the redress of public grievances, whilst the greatest grievance still remains unreformed and untaken away. Witnesse the confused, debauched, and riotous manner of electing members qualified to become the representatives of a nation, with legislative power to dispose of the fate of

carry it, and who to lose it. Our friend, Colonel Birch,[1] is, I am told, not like to come in, which

kingdomes, which should be composed of worthy persons, of known integrity and ability in their respective counties, who would still serve them generously, and as their ancestors have don, but are not able to fling away a son or a daughter's portion to bribe the votes of a drunken multitude, more resembling a Pagan Bacchanalia, than an assembly of Christians and sober men met upon the most solemn occasion that can concern a people, and stand in competition with some rich scrivener, brewer, banker, or one in some gainful office, whose face or name, perhaps, they never saw before." Lastly, he says, "Immoderate fees, tedious and ruinous delays, and tossings from court to court before an easy cause, which might be determined by honest gentlemen and understanding neighbours, can come to any final issue, may be numbered amongst the most vexatious oppressions that call aloud for redress."—Evelyn's *Memoirs*, ii. 276-277.

[1] "Col. Birch," says Burnet, "was a man of peculiar character. He had been a carrier at first, and retained still, even to an affectation, the clownishness of his education. He got up in the progress of the wars to be a colonel, and to be concerned in the Excise. And at the Restoration he was found to be so useful in managing the Excise, that he was put in a good place. He was the roughest and boldest speaker in the House, and talked in the language and phrases of a carrier, but with a beauty and eloquence that was always acceptable. I heard Coventry say, he was the best speaker to carry a popular assembly before him that he had ever known. He spoke always with much life and heat, but judgment was not his talent." Of his powers of repartee and his coarseness, Lord Dartmouth gives two instances: he says, "Sir Edward Seimour reflected upon him very grossly, once in a debate, for

many people please themselves much with, but, for my part, I would be as glad to see him there as your brother Algernon, without offence be it spoken. The King talks of going to Newmarket the 18th or 20th of next month. The Queen is to be there, and all the court. Lady Anne is to go to-morrow towards Brussels. The Duchess of Cleveland is coming to reside here, to solicit her affairs, which as yet have not made any great progress. These are the only things talked of here, which I ask your pardon for troubling you with, and remain,

ever most faithfully yours,

SIDNEY GODOLPHIN.

31st. August. I received letters from Mr. Mountstevens[1] and others; all speaking of the King's indisposition. Mr. Cox came from Brussels. He told

his former profession; to which he answered very calmly, that it was true he had been a carrier, and he believed if that worthy gentleman had ever been so, he would have been so still. King Charles the Second told him, upon something he had moved in the House of Commons, that he remembered forty-one; to which he replied, that he remembered forty-eight. For which the Duke of Monmouth would have had him sent to the porter's lodge, but the King would not suffer it."—Burnet's *History*, ii. 80.

[1] Mr. Mountstevens must have been secretary to Lord Sunderland.

me how the Duke asked a hundred questions about me; that he did not speak well of Lord Sunderland; he gave me some reason to suspect Fitzpatrick; told me what abundance of money they had; he is angry at Sir George Wakeman's coming to Brussels. Mr. Rockwood dined here, and told me how troubled they were, because there was no heir to the Elector, who will not be persuaded to marry again. His son hath no children, and the Palatinate will go to the Duke of Neuburg, who is a Papist.

MR. MOUNTSTEVENS TO MR. SIDNEY.

Windsor, August 29th, 1679.

Honoured Sir,

The last account I gave you from hence was upon Tuesday; that night the King was taken ill with a fit, but much more moderately than upon Friday and Sunday night; since that, he has had not the least appearance of one; so that the physicians are of opinion he will have no more of it. It is believed his Majesty will return to Whitehall as soon as he shall be in a condition to remove thither with safety, which it is hoped he may do the beginning of next week.

Yesterday began the election here of Burgesses for the town of Windsor; which was, by consent of both parties, adjourned till this morning. Mr. Powney, and Mr. Carew, of the Buck Hounds, have outnumbered Mr. Winwood and Mr. Starkey very considerably, by reason of the King's servants; so that it is believed they two will be returned. On the other side, Winwood and Starkey are resolved to petition the Parliament;[1] and the question will be, whether the House of Commons, as well as the Mayor of Windsor, will approve of the election, and allow voices to the King's servants, who have no other pretence for voting here but as such. If this find you inclined to the politics, pray consult the enclosed list; but if disposed to soft love, I refer you to the poetry[2] which likewise comes enclosed. I thank you for your favour of the 22nd inst., and am, with all respect,

Honoured Sir,

Your most faithful, most obedient servant,

Jo. Mountstevens.

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[1] Winwood and Starkey were the members who sate for the Borough in this Parliament.

[2] Those who are interested in such poetry will regret to find that it has not been preserved—the more subtle essence has evaporated.

MR. MOUNTSTEVENS TO MR. SIDNEY.

Windsor, September 2, 1679.

Honoured Sir,

It's now almost a week since the King has had any appearance of an ague; and you may guess, by the method he takes, he will soon recover his strength as well as his health, having exchanged water-gruels and potions for mutton and partridges, on which he feeds frequently and heartily; and whereas the general discourse of the Court about a week since was of his Majesty's speedy return to Whitehall, it's now as generally talk't of, and as generally believed, that he will take Newmarket in his way, having lately reassumed fresh resolutions of removing thither about the 18th of this month, and having likewise given order that all necessary preparations be made there to that purpose: this day his Majesty has been abroad, which is the first attempt he has made of that kind since his illness.

His Majesty has been pleased to bestow the favour of knighthood on Dr. Micklethwaite, President of the College of Physicians, who was very instrumental in recovering him from his late indisposition.

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Jack How, Sir Jervois How's brother, a young amorous spark of the Court, has for some months declared a very great veneration for the Duchess of Richmond; but her Grace neither regarding Will of the Wisp nor his feigned fires, has at length converted the Squire's soft passion into revenge. Whereupon, he has of late reported that he has had several testimonies of her kindness, as well by letters as otherwise. As soon as the Duchess understood this malicious report, she forthwith made her application to the King, who was pleased to refer the examination of the matter to the Duke of Monmouth, the Earl of Essex, my Lord Sunderland, and the Earl of Halifax. Upon inquiry, their Lordships found that, amongst the many evidences of her Grace's favour that Mr. How had boasted of, he could only produce one letter, which the King, as soon as he saw, said was neither her hand nor style; whereupon his Majesty was pleased to give order that he forthwith refrain from coming to Court.[1] Since my last of the 29th, we have had every day fresh supplies of Aldermen from the city, who come hither to confirm themselves and fellow-citizens of the King's condition.

[1] How appears to have been received into favour at Court in a subsequent reign, being Vice-Chamberlain to Queen Anne. —Clarendon's *Diary*, ii. 343.

Yesterday morning, the Duke of York arrived at Dover, and this morning he came hither, but very slenderly attended, who immediately went to wait upon the King, where he begged his Majesty's pardon for presuming to come over without his leave, and withal said he hoped the King would grant it, since the unhappy news of his sickness did in a manner force him to come; and that he now had seen his Majesty he was ready to return as soon as he should think fit.

I am, with all respect,

Yours sincerely,

JOS. MOUNTSTEVENS.

Sir,

Since I have finished my letter, my Lord has commanded me to tell you that the unexpected arrival of the Duke here has occasioned a general surprise; that all people are as yet unsettled, and scarce know what to think of it; that the Duke begged the King's pardon for coming, and said withal that he came with the resolution to be gone the next moment after he had seen him, either to Flanders or any other part of the world, where his Majesty should command him.

MR. SAVILE[1] TO MR. SIDNEY.

Paris, August 28th, —79.

I was at St. Germains the last post day, and am just now going to Fontainbleau, which are the reasons why I shall write short now. This King and Court went thither on Saturday, and Thursday next will be the ceremony of the marriage, which will be in every thing else splendid to the same degree of my being in clothes of two hundred pistoles. This may make you laugh, but it makes me cry, and lament that I am not in the modest garb of the head of my family, a plain band.

The last news-book tells you of the death of the Cardinal de Retz; and the next will tell you, that the Princess Sophia, known by the name of Duchess of Osnaburgh, is arrived at Maubuisson, with her sister: where Madame immediately went

[1] Ambassador at Paris. The marriage he alludes to in this letter was that of Marie Louise d'Orleans, the daughter of Philip of Orleans, whom the Marquis de Los Balbazos came to demand in the name of his master, the King of Spain, "Cet Ambassadeur fit son entrée publique à Paris le 11 de Juin, et reçut ensuite son audience du Roi à St. Germain en Laye avec les cérémonies accoutumées. Ayant obtenu sa demande, le mariage fut célébré au mois d'Aout dans la grande chapelle du château, où le Cardinal de Bouillon en fit la bénédiction. Le Roi et la Reine et toute la Cour y assisterent, et la fête dura plusieurs jours." —Mezeray's *Hist. de France*, iv. 400.

to see her, and the reception did favour more of the heartiness of Germany than the gentleness of France. This day is expected here the Duke of Pastrana; he makes his entry at Fontainbleau, on the 8th of the next month. Sir Harry Gotherick came hither last Saturday, and will stay but two days before he pursue his journey towards Madrid, to be there before the hurry of that Court's setting out to meet their new Queen disturb the gravity of his march. Fail not to pity my suffering self, in the midst of all the gaudy fools I shall see for a fortnight before my return hither. In the mean time, what is either worth your entertainment or your information, I shall send you from thence.

If the report of this King's setting out thirty or forty sail of ships be got as far as you, you may comfort yourself it was only an alarum to fright the Danes into that peace which we count upon here as concluded; Monsieur Mayer Croom being, I am told, resolved to sign all that will be offered him the last of this month, and prepared to agree to the matter of Holstein, as it is required here. Colonel Macarty is come here for his pleasure; I wish his stay may be for mine. Colonel Algernon is, I hear, chosen a Member of Parliament: I did not think I should ever have so good a reason to

wish to be so too, as to hear how he will behave himself. Farther news from hence there is none, and so I take my leave of you, wishing you a thousand happinesses.

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE TO MR. SIDNEY.

Sheen, August 29th.

Since I writ last to you, I have had two or three letters from you, and the last, upon your return from Amsterdam. I do not think you have had any loss by my failing you so long together, though I expect you should complain, for there has been little to be said to you from hence of late upon any other subject than that of the King's illness, which you could only receive a good account of from those of your friends, who have been constantly near him. However, I will tell you, because I am just now come from Windsor, that he was to-day much better than I expected to find him, after having passed a very ill day on Wednesday: though I had given the Prince of Orange an account of his health the night before, with good hopes of the worst being over, and will now be confident it is, since all the physicians are so, and he has missed his fit both yesterday and to-day, and seems to

speak with much better humour, as well as more strength and spirits than he did on Tuesday. For my own part, I have been taken up of late with a journey to Cambridge, but not so pleasantly as you have been with that to Amsterdam. All that was good in mine is, that I had what I proposed to myself by it, and in the best manner that could be, without a voice against me, and with all the honour and compliments that could be upon it, from the university. Whether, after all, I have reason to be pleased now that I am fixed to be upon that busy scene, I know not, but you will be so, and the Prince, I believe, which will go far with me. All that I know is, that very much will depend both at home and abroad upon this Session of Parliament, so that we are all concerned to see it begin and end well. I would be glad you were in, since I am, and hope Mr. Harbord has it still in his care, as well as your friend in Sussex.

In the mean time you will expect I should say something to you of your business in Holland, though I need not by this post, which will bring you a long letter from a better hand. There are some expressions in it concerning 19 and 98, which you will not think fit should go farther than the Prince, for to him I suppose you need have no

reserve. For my own part, I will say nothing more to you upon it, than just to ask you a question, without which I think none of us can say much that will be to the purpose; and that is, to know of you what Monsieur Van Beuninghen's project is. Monsieur Van Lewen speaks of it as a thing he had expected to receive from the Pensioner, but never has yet; and you mention it as a thing sent over, upon which you expect an answer; but neither my Lord Sunderland nor I can find any thing more by your letters than that Monsieur Van Beuninghen dislikes a guarantee of the peace being concluded between us and Holland, according to the project that came first from them, or the other that you carried over a copy of:[1] and

[1] This plan of the Guarantee, of which we read so much in the Journals, and which was ultimately rejected by the States, has been ably and clearly stated by Ralph, in the following passage extracted from his history. This short and accurate account of it will make the whole transaction more intelligible and more interesting.

"Mr. Algernon Sidney calls this plan of the Guarantee one of Sir W. Temple's projects, and that the great drift of it was, under the pretence of a Guarantee, to draw Holland and Spain into a League with England, that should help the Prince of Orange to an occasion of breaking the peace so lately made; that to induce the Council to embrace it, Sir William, who was taken to be the oracle of those parts, assured them there was no such thing as a party in Holland inclined to oppose the

would have, instead of it, a defensive league between us and Spain. Now, if this be all that you call his project, we are still in the dark what to make of it; at least, I am, for I confess I differ from my

Prince of Orange; that all was submitted to his authority, and united in desiring such an alliance with us; that it would necessarily be accepted as soon as offered; that the French, who had made the peace for fear of us, would, by a parity of reason, more exactly keep it, when it appeared that we were of the party against them; and that it would make the government as popular at home as formidable abroad.

"No pains, it seems, were spared to convince Lord Sunderland that this was no better than a political dream, but to no purpose. The pursuit was pleasing, and therefore it was followed; but neither he that gave the advice nor those that followed it had any reason to plume themselves on the success: for no sooner had Mr. Sidney opened his commission, and the States had taken it into consideration, than Monsieur D'Avaux, the French minister at the Hague, set all his engines to work to render the whole proceeding abortive. The States were not only told with much freedom in a letter anonymous, that the ill posture of affairs had laid them open to the menaces of Spain, Denmark, and Brandenburgh, and that the only way to recover their former significancy was, to return to their former adherence to France, &c, but Monsieur D'Avaux, in person, delivered in a memorial demanding a renewal of the alliance in 1672, and containing a representation of all the inconveniences that would in all probability attend their refusal.

"These counter-projects revived the war of parties in Holland. The Lowestein as greedily fastened on this of France as the Orange did on that of England. Each in turn was so warmly opposed, that neither could be accepted; they were not, however, immediately rejected. Such a proceeding would

Lords Sunderland and Halifax in the meaning of your letters. They think Monsieur Van Beuninghen desires only that they should make a defensive league with Spain, in some such manner as Holland has done already with that Crown; and consequently that Holland should have no part in

have equally offended both Crowns; and the sad effect of having both united against them, the States had but too lately felt, and still too sorely remembered.

"But France had been now so accustomed to give the law, that they would not suffer their high and mighty Lordships to demur, without giving them to know, by the Dutch Ambassador at Paris, how much the Grand Monarque was offended at it. The King was much surprised, they were told, to find they placed so little value on his friendship as to hesitate whether they should close with his offers or those of England; that he should take any farther delay for a refusal; and that, though he would maintain the peace with them, he should no longer look upon them as worthy of his favour, as they would soon feel by the effects his displeasure would have on their commerce.

"This touched the States in the most sensible part, and the Lowestein faction made so dexterous a use of their apprehensions on that head, that Mr. Sidney's offers were first dismissed, though in the softest manner imaginable, their high and mighty Lordships, by way of a qualifier, directing Monsieur Van Lewen to return his Majesty their most humble and grateful thanks for having by his mediation procured a general peace, and to assure his Majesty that they would have a perpetual remembrance of his kindness and good will towards them, and that they would on all occasions shew their acknowledgement thereof."—Ralph, ii. 488.

any farther treaties. I cannot but think Monsieur V. B. means that a new defensive league should be made between us and Spain and Holland, and cannot comprehend that by Monsieur V. B.'s project, you should mean nothing but a league between us and Spain, which may be called his advice to us if he pleases, but cannot, I think, be called his project. If he means this last, I doubt he will find none here of his mind; if he means the other, that is, a defensive league between us and Spain and Holland, he would do well in that case to send his project of it over to the Ambassador here, if the Prince and Pensioner be of his mind in it, with orders to propose it to the King or the Commons, or at least the Secretary, though I am of opinion it is not a thing the King will easily fall into, or that could be effected easily if he should, the delays of all negociations with Spain being so great, and the miscarriages of all such matters easily brought about when they once take wind.

By your next, I hope you will set us right in this matter; and if there be any such project of Monsieur V. B. endeavour that it may be sent over. If it should be only as my Lord Sunderland understood it, an advice to his Majesty to make a defensive league with Spain, all that is to be said is,

we thank him for it, and to conclude that his town has no mind to do any thing at all in such matter, either upon fear of angrying France, or in doubt upon our condition here to support them in any dangers they may by that means draw upon themselves. If this should be their mind, I will not determine whether they have reason or no, but leave men to judge of their own interests, without pretending to dispute them out of it. All your business I think is only to know, as clearly as you can, what they would be at, and to tell it as clearly as you can here.

I shall be glad to receive the letter you mention by Bridges, which tells us those things which we have most mind to know; though I suppose you will not send it by him or any other hand without a good deal of cypher, which you need not be so much afraid to deal with, at least not with me.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

Windsor, August 29th, 1679.

Sir,

Your last was of the 22nd instant, S. V., wherein you press for an answer to the propositions made to you some weeks ago by the Prince and Mon-

sieur Van Beuninghen, concerning a defensive league with Spain; so that I find you had not then received my letter I writ you upon that subject, the contents whereof I shall therefore now repeat to you more at large. The King thinks his entering into a new treaty with the States (though it were but barely renewing the last defensive treaty) of absolute necessity; if there were no other reason for it, but that the former treaty being made before the States had made their peace with France, the Parliament, as well as the world abroad, will look upon any alliance made since, and in this conjuncture especially, as much more considerable, and consequently it will be of great reputation to his Majesty's affairs both at home and abroad. This I suppose will, in some manner, answer the objection made by the Pensioner, that we need not have a new treaty with them, there being so strict an alliance already subsisting between us. The reason of their backwardness rather seems to me to proceed from their apprehensions of France, and the consideration of the unsettledness of our affairs here; the former, Monsieur Van Lewen, some time since, in a discourse upon this subject, did as good as own, by saying he believed the States would hardly be brought to

any new measures in conjunction with his Majesty whilst the troops of that Crown were in this neighbourhood; and as to the latter, I do not doubt but it has been mentioned to you again and again.

We all here know Monsieur Van Beuninghen's fermeté, or indeed opiniatreté, so well, that I fear it will be a hard matter to make him alter his mind, especially in a matter of his own projecting; but, however, you must tell the Prince and Pensioner, that the King has so great a contempt for the Spanish assistance, (being that the affairs of that Monarchy are, as is visible to all the world, in so miserable a condition,) that he wonders a person of so good understanding as Monsieur Van Beuninghen should enter upon such a notion, and fancy that his Majesty or the States can expect any thing from Spain; if the necessity of their affairs should require it. You will easily be able to enlarge upon this head by minding them of the condition of the affairs of that Crown in Flanders, and the state of their garrisons, which is so wretched, that the forces in them all are not able to defend any one of their places against a less power far than that of France. Besides, you will do well to remember, Monsieur Van Beuninghen, that when he was here and an alliance was discoursed of between

his Majesty and the Emperor, Spain, and the States, he always looked upon it as an impracticable thing, and would often say the measures were to be taken between England and Holland alone; at least, principally; and then if any other Princes would come into that alliance they might be admitted afterwards.

The King is perfectly of this mind, and says the alliance between him and the States must be the foundation of all the rest, and, when that is well laid, for which his Majesty thinks the making of such a treaty as was proposed by the project you carried over, or some other like it, necessary; not only the crown of Spain, but all other Princes and States who shall be willing, may enter into the same. What you must continue to press for now is, chiefly, that Monsieur Van Lewen (with whom I have discoursed this whole matter at large, and who will, no doubt, have given an account of it there) may have powers sent him, which his Majesty is in great expectation of; and his Majesty says, that, if upon negociating with the said Ambassador, he shall find reason to alter his mind in any particular, he will readily comply with the desires of the States in it, but yet so as, at the same time, there may be a new treaty, though but upon the foot of the former,

between his Majesty and the States. This is all that occurs to me now: when we return to London, I will endeavour that this matter may be maturely considered of again, and what his Majesty resolves in it farther you shall be immediately acquainted with.

Mr. Bridgman tells me he gave you an account of the King's illness last post; since, the King has had a fit upon Wednesday, early in the morning, but much less than the former, and has, thanks be to God, missed his fit last night, and having also rested very well, is in a good condition to-day, so that the physicians hope he will have no more fits.

I am,

Your most humble servant,

SUNDERLAND.

GILBERT SPENCER[1] TO MR. SIDNEY.

London, 1st September, 1679.

Most Honoured Sir,

We have at last now dispatched the business at Bramber, though we met with great difficulties,

[1] Gilbert Spencer had been steward to Lord Leicester; his name frequently occurs in the Sidney Papers. He was one of those whom Lady Leicester took leave of when on her

lying under several disadvantages, as that of your not being there, nor in England, nor known to any of them; this made for the Gorings, both Henry Goring and Peircy, who have been formerly chosen there: then, what you will be surprised at, your brother Algernon made an interest for one Sir Charles Woosley, who was one of Oliver's friends, and he seems to be mightily disgusted because you should stand at Bramber, where he intended once to stand, which I have taken upon me to answer to Sir Jo. Pelham, that you knew nothing of it. It seems he had a great desire to be a Member, and therefore Penn[1] and Sir John Fagg, and such men, made him interest in several places; and the design, as I find since, was to get Woosley in, if he got in any where else.—Penn (as I presume you will hear by a better hand) wrote to Sir Jo. Pel-

deathbed,* and he appears to have been a zealous and faithful servant to this her favourite son. To Lord Leicester, his elder brother, it will be seen in subsequent letters he had a hearty hatred, and he certainly bore no good-will to Algernon.

* She espied Gilbert Spencer, my servant. "Gilbert," said she, "farewell. I thanke you for your good-will, and for the services that you have don me, and I give you my little nag."—Lord Leicester's *Journal*.

[1] Penn was at that time living at Worminghurst, in the neighbourhood of Bramber, an estate which came to him through his wife.

ham that your standing at Bramber would make a greater feud between you and your brothers then is between you and the elder; unless, for an expedient, your interest and Sir Jo. Pelham's credit were engaged for that worthy patriot, C. W.: whether this were only cunning in Penn, or true in your brother, I cannot well say; but I believe you have most cause to take the matter ill from him, who, after he knew you stood, should have turned by and put in a stranger; this added to the trouble and your charge, for he having been there about eight days before the election, and given money to some in the town, and made his learned speech with thanks for their good will to him, and recommended to them that gent., and left ten or twelve guineas to thank them as was pretended, and left instructions and promises with some of that party of £10 a man, which works powerfully under hand. Those promises on the one hand, and Mr. Goring's frequent treats and drinkings on the other, made us spend much more than we should, to keep our party firm.

Mr. Westbrooke wishes us well, but durst not appear against his friends and neighbours, the Gorings; but we had an indefatigable friend of Mr. Turner, who lives on the spot, who, by the credit

he had with the Burgers, and the powerful charms we urged of feasting and drinking, made your interest so great that the day before the election, after some treaty on the points, Mr. Peircy Goring consented to desist, if he might have his charge reimbursed, which was readily consented to; for I found by this you would prevent all grudges between the Gorings and the Bridgers, and which was more, it would prevent any ill-will between Sir Jo. Pelham and those who, a few days before, had been at the election of knights for the putting by of Sir J. Fagg, who lost it; and the two brothers, Sir Jo. and Sir Nicholas Pelham, carried it.

The charge he was at, he says, was £80, which I have engaged to pay this week; 'twas more than we thought it could have been, but it is not to be imagined what those fellows, their wives, and children will devour in a day and night, and what extraordinary reckonings the taverns and alehouses make, who, being Burgers, are not to be disputed with on that point. And now, Sir, I am coming to tell you we have spent you almost £200[1] more,

[1] "The country groaned under this pressure, (taxes) and began to be dissatisfied; which, having an influence on some gentlemen of both houses, gave birth to two parties, the one for the Country, the other for the Court. The former pretended, in an impartial manner, to espouse the cause of the people, in

and have been no ill husbands neither; but, if we had not met with the difficulties aforesaid, half this expense would have served. And, if ever there should be the like occasion, you are sure of Bramber; for Peircy, I reckon, has passed over his interest for ever: they long very much to see you, when you come over (which I begin to hope to hear of); Mr. Pelham and I have engaged they shall

their liberties and properties, and whatever is dear to Englishmen, to assist the religion and government by law established. The latter pretended to the same, but thought the King was to have a competent income, and be invested with due power for the exercise of his regal office, without having too great a dependence on the people, a cause which had been of such pernicious effects to his royal father. Hence it was that gentlemen bestirred themselves more than usual to be elected into a seat in parliament; so that great was the competition between the candidates, and at great expenses they were, even from one or two hundred to two thousand pounds. But the concerns of the public were not what alone actuated all men; some wanted to be in the House, to be screened from their debts; that Parliament (the long Parliament) having sate a long time, and some had obtained great emoluments from the Court to stand up for their interest. So that it is no wonder that I had no less than five competitors when I offered myself for Aldborough."—Reresby's *Mem.* 177. Such was the state of things in 1674, and, considering the difference in the value of money, the expense of a seat in Parliament was nearly what it is at present, and the mode of obtaining it, judging from this letter of Spencer's, very much the same.

have that satisfaction; Mr. Pelham was so kind as to go over with me, and came again the day of election, though very wet; Sir Jo. sent over half a buck, with which we treated bravely. I made it an article that the gentleman should declare amongst the Burgers that he did desist, and that he would take it as well if they were for you as for him; and, to do him right, he owned a great respect for your family, and, in particular, for yourself; and, if they would choose a stranger, he knew none more worthy; but this could not be brought into example to leave the neighbours and gentlemen of the country; but he having his residence at Maidstone, we thought him as much a stranger as you, Sir.

I have now given you an account of all the most serious parts of this affair; there are many things I might add, which are too long and impertinent, and therefore I shall say no more of that matter, unless I beg leave to tell you that you would have laughed to see how pleased I seemed to be in kissing of old women, and drinking wine with handfulls of sugar, and great glasses of burnt brandy, three things much against the stomach, yet with a very good will, because, to serve him I most honoured. I hope, Sir, you will

pardon this tedious, indigested matter, which you find strangely huddled together, as it came into the mind of,

Sir,

Your most obedient and most dutiful servant,

G. SPENCER.

August 31st. There dined with me Mr. Middleton and his governor. After dinner, Colonel Fitz Patrick sent me a letter, which gave him notice of the Duke's being gone into England; it was from J. Ch., which Mr. Meredith thought was one Chaumont. He blamed the rashness of the Duke's action, and spoke of the ill-usage of the Catholics.

Sept. 1st. I went to Monsieur Van Beuninghen, and found him in the forchoult; he was not at all disposed to make any new alliance, and talked much of the Duke's going into England, and so does all the world. In the afternoon, I went to Hounslerdyke, and staid there till nine. I met the Prince in the way in a narrow passage, and told him how the King was, and of the Duke's going, which he was surprised at, but said he could not blame him, for he believes he should have done the same thing if he had been in his

place. He is afraid it will be ill for the King's business.

2nd. I went to Hounslerdyke, and had a long conversation with the Prince on public affairs, of the Duke's going into England, of the Parliament, of Fitz Patrick, of Lord Halifax. He said he could not bring himself to write to the Duchess of Portsmouth. He shewed me a letter from the Duke, and one from Mr. Godolphin, inviting him to come over. I received letters from Lord Sunderland, Mr. Godolphin, Sir W. Temple, and sister Sunderland.

THE DOWAGER LADY SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

September 2nd.

Since you were so thankful for a poor silly letter, I'll tell you of one more. I writ to you as soon as my little brains were settled by hearing the King was much mended, and, thanks be to God, does yet continue; but I have the less comfort in it because his fits were put off, like mine, by the Jesuit's powder, and it was as necessary to give it to him as to me, for he was with two fits weaker than I was with more. If all the

trouble people have been in was out of kindness to him, never any king had so much, for it was to a distraction. I believe yet there is scarce any body beyond Temple Bar that believes his distemper proceeded from any thing but poison, though as little like it as if he had fallen from a horse; every body is very desirous to have him come to town as soon as he is able; as yet he does not appear much inclined to it, yet one of our friends, he that is constantly there, you do not doubt, is very well in favour of it, and the other, who is much there, is so too.

In my last, I told you of a fine affair of love and caressing: now I am told, but by no Privy Councillor, that the Duchess of Richmond had, notwithstanding the troubles of the time, complained to the King of the great injury How had done her in bragging of her favours and letters when she had never given him cause for either. The King appointed the Duke of Monmouth, my Lords Essex, Sunderland, and Halifax, to examine this business; this I am told, and I think they judge of the lady's side; then he is a fine gentleman if he lies. If the Privy Councillors had not used their authority to keep the crowds out of the

King's chamber, he had been smothered; the bed-chamber men could do nothing to hinder it.

My niece, Martha, passed this way into Northamptonshire; my sister has been very kind to them, and keeps the child; the two sisters, I doubt, are not very kind, nor the two brothers-in-law. I dare say, by what Montague has told me, Mr. Algernon has been a good while at Paris, and not gone to Holland. Penn did what he could to help Fagg and hinder my brother, Pelham, who had not one gentleman against him. My Lord Clifford does not stand; my Lord Burlington would not bear the charge. This town does infinitely abound in lies; I believe there is a great one just now, that the Duke came last night, and went immediately to Windsor; this would make news indeed for the next post. With much affection, I am your humble servant,

D. S.

Not so strange as true, the Duke is come, as others will tell you, only with old Ned Villiers, Churchill, and young Legge; how he was received I did not hear. I have seen nobody that knows any thing. I believe nothing has surprised more a long time but his going.

SIR RICHARD BULSTRODE[1] TO MR. SIDNEY.

Bruzelles, Sept. 10th, 1679.

Sir,

I was in so great disorder when I last wrote to you the night before his Royal Highness' departure, that I had not time to collect myself, for which reason I did forget much of what I had to say. The chief thing of concern was the sudden and unexpected journey his Highness was undertaking, which put this Court into a great consternation, and the Catholic party in it into a great rage; and truly we are all betwixt great hopes and fears till we hear how his Majesty doth, and how his Royal Highness hath been received.[2]

[1] Sir Richard Bulstrode was the son of the author of some Law Reports; he was born in 1610. He left the Law to serve under King Charles I., of whose army he was Adjutant and Quarter Master General. He was knighted in 1675, and was at this time the Envoy at Brussels.—Preface to his *Letters*.

[2] The following is James's own account of his journey and his reception.—"Upon the 8th of September he began his journey from Brusells, acquainting nobody but the Duchess with his intentions, and took only my Lord Peterborough, Mr. Churchill, and a Barber with him; leaving order with Sir Richard Bulstrode to acquaint the Duke of Villa Hermosa with the occasion of his sudden departure. The first night he arrived at Armentiers, and the next at Calais; but, the wind blowing fresh and contrary, could not get out till the 10th in the evening, and the next morning landed at Dover in a French

Our last letters told us the King's indisposition was much abated, that the ague was the only thing feared, which yet the physicians hoped would go

shallop (not being discovered, by reason of the disguise he had put himself in, neither by the crew, nor at Dover itself, except by the Port Master, who was an honest man and held his tongue): he took port from thence, leaving my Lord Peterborough behind, who was not able to go so fast, and arrived that night at London. As soon as he light, he called a hackney-coach, and went first to Mr. Frowd, the Post Master, to know what news, where he found to his great satisfaction that the King was much better; from thence he went to Sir Allen Apsley's house, where he lay all night, and sent for Mr. Hyde and Mr. Godolphin. They told him his coming was still a secret; that neither the Duke of Monmouth, nor any of his gang, knew or suspected it; and therefore they advised him to make all the haste he could to Windsor, while the thing was undiscovered. Accordingly, he came thither the next morning by seven o'clock, just as his Majesty was shaving, and was himself the first man that advertised him of his arrival.

"The King, though seemingly surprised, received him very kindly; and the Duke, after his compliments and telling his Majesty how extreme glad he was to find him so well recovered, pursued his directions; and speaking aloud, sayd, He hoped his Majesty would pardon him for coming without his leave, considering the occasion, but that, as he had already gone out of England in obedience to his Majesty's commands, so now that he had the satisfaction of seeing him, he was ready to go into any part of the world he should appoint.

"This scene being over, all the Courtiers flocked about him to make their compliments, his enemies as well as his friends." —Clarke's *Life of James I.*, 565.

off; our having no news since Tuesday makes us believe the best, or else we should have had more expresses.

Before his Highness' departure he changed his resolution of sending Mr. Porter to France and Spain, from the advices he received from the Ambassador, dissuading him from it: whereupon Mr. Tufton was nominated, but no time fixed for his going till my Lord Ossory should be despatched from England; and, Mr. Tufton having gone for England, I am not able to say when he shall go.

The Duke made so great haste, that, having sent his horses in relay, we suppose he reached Calais on Friday night; if so, I fear my Lord Peterborough was left behind, being unlikely to continue that journey, and I much doubt whether Mr. Churchill could perform it, and then his Highness would have no person with him but his chirurgeon.

The night before his Highness went, he declared Mr. Nicholas of his bedchamber, who went also for England, by the way of Neuport, with Mr. Tufton.

We are in great hopes that the Duchesse, with the two Princesses, will soon follow his Highness; though others are of a contrary sentiment, believing the Duke will rather return hither, wherein

I hope they will be mistaken, and shall willingly pardon their error.

His Excellency the Duke of V. Hermosa is returned this night from Namur, and we are making great preparations for a solemn entertainment on Sunday, for the marriage, which they say will be very magnificent; but I doubt that, as much as the Marquis de los Balbazos at Fontainbleau, which fell much short of expectation.

I have nothing more worthy of your notice, and shall end your trouble with acknowledging your last favour, and begging you to believe that I am, with perfect respect and esteem,

Sir,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

R. Bulstrode.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

Windsor.

The day before yesterday, the King told the Duke of Monmouth he would have him lay down his commission of general, and that he should absent himself for some time from his dominions. This, after some arguing, which did not convince, he was forced to submit to, and in order to his journey he went from hence last night. He will

go some time next week, and immediately after, the Duke will begin his journey to Brussels. I would have made use this day of my cipher, but it is lost, or at least laid aside, that I cannot find it; therefore I desire you will send me a copy of yours.

I think this is news enough for one post; I will only add, that the King is extremely well, and intends to go next week to London, and a few days afterwards to Newmarket.

I am entirely yours,

SUNDERLAND.

4th. I staid at home till after dinner, when Mr. Landineau[1] came to me; he told me he had been with his master. I saw some fine troops, and fifty-two sail of ships; in the evening, I went to see Monsieur Campricht; he told me that the States owed sixty millions, that they paid $3\frac{1}{2}$ interest for; then I went to Monsieur Rounswinkle, who assured me of his friendship, and that he would let his master know of my favour to him.

5th and 6th. Mr. Brasey was with me, spoke to me of his business of being Drosser[2] of Bois le

[1] Envoy from Denmark at the English Court.

[2] Drosser, or more properly Drossaert, means the Bailiff, a

Duc. He told me that the two hundredth penny was half per cent.; that they paid taxes for land that was under water. I went afterwards to dinner to Monsieur Odyke, where the Prince was after dinner; I spoke to him first about the Duke's being King of the Romans; he said there were many difficulties, the Emperor having sons, and he did not know the Duke would approve of it. As to his coming over, he would speak with me in a day or two; he did not yet know of what advantage it would be. I told him the greatest advantage that was proposed to him, was that my friends thought it was the best means of doing him service, and consequently the nation. I told him the Duke would never inherit the Crown, and he is of that mind; and if the succession is not settled somewhere, it will certainly turn to a Commonwealth; he did also agree with me when I read that part of my letter that gave me order to press for powers to Monsieur Van Lewen to treat, and I asked him if I should move it; he desired me to forbear for a day or two, as Monsieur Van Beuninghen was gone to Amsterdam, to see what

kind of Police Magistrate and public prosecutor. Several noble families in Westphalia have their names derived from this office. The refractory Archbishop of Cologne is a Droste-Vischering.

humour they were in there, and till he was returned he was unwilling any thing should be done.

7th. I dined at Hounslerdyke; after dinner I walked with the Prince above an hour. I told him several reasons why he should go into England; he was unapt to believe it would do any good; but I told him the Monarchy was absolutely lost, unless he recovered it. He is convinced the Duke will never have the Crown, and I find would be very willing to be put into a way of having it himself. He desired me to write to Lord Sunderland, to know what was the best time for him to come over, and if there was any expedient to be found to absolve him from taking the oaths of allegiance.

MR. SIDNEY TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

The Prince was not easily to be persuaded that his coming would be of any advantage, but he is at last, and bids me write to you to know what is the best time, either before the first of November this stile, or after the last, for he must be here the whole month of November. The design of bringing him into the Council and House of Lords he likes well; but he doubts it will not be, because he cannot take

the oath of allegiance. If you can find an expedient for it, he desires you would send it to him. I think it would do as well to have him created Duke, though he left England the next day.

8th. Monsieur D'Overkirk and several of that gang dined with me. After dinner, Burgomaster Mays came to me; he has a very good understanding, he would be glad to do Mr. Bracey any service, except bringing him into the town; but for the place of Drosser, he will assist him all he can.

10th. The Prince sent for me to go to Monsieur Van Beuninghen before I went, which I did, and found him still in the same opinion, and being against the guarantee; and now he saith that the Parliament will not like that we should engage to maintain France in the height it is now; he has no mind to guarantee the peace, and is afraid to enter into an act of guarantee for securing the Spanish Low Country. After I was with him, I went to Breda, where I found the Princess; soon after the Prince came; a kind meeting.

11th. I went with the Prince to see the fortification, which was very fine; the soldiers work there; the horse have sixpence, the foot threepence per day. In the afternoon they were drawn

out, and then they looked as well as ever I saw any. Collier's and Mackay's troops are much better than Wesley's. After that I went to see two woods, one of fir, the other of oaks, both very fine. I supt with Lady Inchiquin.

12th. I came from Breda at three in the morning; the Prince at the same time. After dinner, Monsieur Van Beuninghen came to me, and told me he approved of the guarantee, and added some words: he is mightily concerned for the King and Kingdom, and insists much on our treating with Spain.

13th. The Prince sent to me at eleven o'clock, to let me know that he would dine with me. I had before invited Monsieur Sas, Secretary of the Admiralty at Rotterdam, and Monsieur de Wylde, Secretary of the Admiralty at Amsterdam. After dinner, I spoke to him of Mr. Bracey; he saith he will do him all the service he can. I told him Monsieur Van Beuninghen had been with me, that he seems now well satisfied with the guarantee, and that he was gone to Amsterdam to propose it. The Prince thinks it indifferent whether it be treated of here or in London, but, because of this addition, he thinks it would be best there. I wrote to Sir William Temple, and sent him some boxes of pills and beef. I received some letters.

MR. SAVILE TO MR. SIDNEY.

Paris, September 8th.

At my return hither, on Tuesday last, in the train of the Queen of Spain, I found your letter of the 30th of last month, which, bringing much more of kindness than news in it, was much the welcomer, the continuation of your friendship being as pleasant to me as my return of it is certain to you; for as my inclination has never been stronger to any man in my whole life, nor any opinion better of any man, so, now that the reverend addition of many years' acquaintance and intimacy comes to be added to the rest, it sets you in a higher rank in my breast than most men upon earth; but, trêve aux complimens.

I suppose you will expect a long and exact account of all the fine things I have seen at Fontainbleau, which I should not have grudged the pains of describing, were there not now in the press by the King's order so perfect a relation, that I had better refer you to that which will be ready by the next post, than forestall your curiosity by so imperfect a narrative as I should make. However, upon the whole matter, I will tell you that there was nothing more magnificent than the French,

except the English Minister, nor nothing more shameful than the Spaniard, for Balbazos, he has been long given over for a niggard; but Pastrana, who is rich, young, and handsome, we expected some mighty matters from, and I am very confident the one only suit he has worn ever since he came did not cost seven pistoles. We are told he will make amends by a wonderful splendid entry on the 15th, being to go away on the 20th, so that he has not much time to recover his reputation.

Last night, Balbazos gave the comedy, supper, and ball to his new mistress, to Monsieur, Madame, &c. but though to do him right I think he did all he could, his past offences made the French find much sparing in all we saw.

The new Queen, having heard all the harangues of the Parliament, City, Academy, &c. goes to-day to repose two days at St. Cloud; on Tuesday she returns to Fontainbleau, and from thence on the Tuesday after she pursues her journey towards Spain; in all these her motions, I am very assiduous in making my Court to her; having the considerations of an uncle[1] upon me, which to me, who am not naturally a great lover of fine sights and festivals, has given me such a surfeit of it that

[1] This uncle was Sir W. Coventry, Secretary of State.

you need not take it for a great compliment, that for the remaining part of this matter I wish to change places with you, else I will allow both the air and company and many other circumstances are so far preferable to yours, that I do not wonder you envy me, and that I envy nobody living. This place is so wholly possessed by the same business, that the peace of the northern crown signed last Saturday at Fontainbleau passes for a matter of no moment to Christendom; in your climate I believe you will think it something, and Sir Peter Wych will wonder at a thing done so suddenly here, which his friends in Schonen could not finish, though they gave him occasion to make so many politic reflections upon their meeting, which I doubt not but he has imparted to you as well as me.

We expect James Porter from Brussels this night, and my Lord of Ossory very soon from England, both bound towards Spain with compliments upon the marriage. Sir Henry Gotherick began his journey in a coach last Monday, and will doubtless be at Madrid some time before Christmas. My Lord and Lady Westmoreland are coming over to live here, which will not make my station less envyed by you; my Lord Sturton is come already, and I have frequently the honour

of my Lord Cardigan's company; I will not tantalize you with more of my happiness, but will assure you that I wish you as much as any man breathing.

14th. I was at the French church. After dinner I went to Hounslerdyke, and acquainted the Prince with the letters I had received from the Duke, that mentioned his coming over, and withal said he thought his journey would not be disadvantageous. The Prince went by water not far from Moredyke to shoot. Mr. Meredith was with me, and told me he heard the Duke of Orleans would pretend to the Upper Palatinate, which was given to the Elector of Bavaria at the Treaty of Munster, unless the Elector would pay him a sum of money which he pretended was due to him, and that the King of France had given order to Monsieur Jerviss to be present at the Diet at Ratisbon, to give his voice as a member of the Empire. I went afterwards to Mr. Rockwood; he told me that the French Ambassador said we took very ill measures, for we had disobliged all the world in assisting of France, and now we had displeased her, and obliged nobody; he thinks the King of France does pretend to this of the Palatinate to fright Ba-

varia, for, if the Elector should marry a daughter of the Duke of Neuburgh, he would have an interest from the Alps to Holland. He would be glad if the Elector Palatine would marry again, and thinks of my Lady Anne. He told me how this Freeman writ of his negotiations, and I find he writes many lies, as that my Lords Halifax and Essex and two more had writ to the Duke to come over.[1]

[1] Mr. Freeman told no lie in this instance, at all events. Sir William Temple gives the following account of this transaction. "Next day I went to Windsor, and the first man I met was Lord Halifax, coming down from Court on foot, and with a face full of trouble, and as soon as he saw me with hands lift up two or three times; upon which I stopt, and alighting, asked what was the matter: he told me I knew as well as he that the Duke was come, that every body was amazed—he bid me go on to Court before the King went out, and said he was going to his lodging to sit and think over this new world." "I soon found out the whole secret; which was that, upon the King's first illness, the Lords Essex and Halifax being about him thought his danger great and their own so too, and that if anything happened to the King's life, the Duke of Monmouth would be at the head of the nation, in opposition to the Duke upon pretence of Popery, and in conjunction with Lord Shaftesbury, who had threatened to have their heads upon the prorogation of the last Parliament, had proposed to the King the sending immediately for the Duke. For my part, though I was glad of any mortification that happened to the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury, whose designs had run the kingdom into such incurable divisions and distractions, at a time that our union was so necessary to the

16th. Mr. Carr told me of one Vandastrade, who said that the King was married to Mrs. Barlow. The Duke sent to inquire of this man, and finds that he only said that my Lord Garrard and Croft told him 'twas the King said so. This is a mean fellow who lives at Amsterdam. I writ for leave.

MR. SIDNEY TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

September 16-26.

My Lord,

It is very unlucky that you have lost your cipher, for our friend here deferred taking any resolution till I had an answer of what I writ to you of the 8th, which I am afraid will now come too late, but yet I have sent you a copy of mine. In my last I writ you word that Monsieur Van Beuninghen was of opinion that the Treaty of Guarantee had best be treated of here; since I spoke to the Prince

affairs of Christendom, yet I was spited to the heart at the carriage of my friends in this affair, and not so much for their taking such a resolution without my knowledge and concert, as for keeping me ignorant after the Duke's coming over; and so far as to let me make such a figure as I did in doing all the good offices, and making all the court I could to the Duke for Lords Essex and Halifax as I told them I could do."—Temple's *Works*, ii. 518.

of it, and he saith he was once of that mind, but now he hath considered of it, he thinks it will be as well if it be done in England; he shall send Monsieur Van Beuninghen again to Amsterdam about it, and to-morrow we shall know what he saith: I believe you will have a good account of it, if the surprising news we hear every day out of England does not make them change their minds. They do begin to suspect most extremely that the next Parliament will not answer our expectations, which makes them something backward in desiring so much with us.

The Prince and Princess are at Hounslerdyke; on Saturday he did me the honour to come and dine with me, where he had but an indifferent entertainment as you may imagine, for he let me know of his coming but an hour before; by good luck I had invited the Secretary of the Admiralty at Amsterdam, and two or three more, so that we had something to eat; all yesterday he was a-hunting, and to-day he hath sent me a buck and some gibier, which he intends to eat at my house to-morrow. The States will break up some time next week, and then he goes to Soesdyke, a house of his beyond Utrecht, where he will stay till towards winter. I desire you will speak to the

King for leave for me to come over for a month, and pray let me have it as soon as I can; he said before I left England that he would not refuse it me, and I hope he hath not changed his mind; it may be between this and the seventeenth of October I may have a good opportunity; if not, I will desire a yacht, if you will have the kindness to send me one.

MR. SAVILE TO MR. SIDNEY.

Paris, September 11th, —79.

This is rather to tell you, I shall not write to you by the next post, than for anything I have to say to you by this, my last having told you the method of the Queen of Spain's affairs which yet holds, and to-morrow she returns to Fontainbleau, and so does your humble servant; Madame de Mecklenbourg says she heard my Lord Sidney had arrived in Holland; she past near it, and would fain have seen him, had she not have been joined with the Duchess of Osnaburg, who could not be persuaded to pass that way. On Thursday the Duke of Pastrana makes his entry at Fontainbleau; he has three coaches, of which two are so fine that they are supposed to be for his master; I wish you saw him that you might know a person

that at Madrid is called the terror of husbands, being there what the Earl of Mulgrave would willingly be thought in London.[1] James Porter has resigned his Embassy to Mr. Tufton, by reason of some politic reflections out of England as I am informed from some Catholics here, who are scandalized at the change. Poor old Ruvigny is so ill that his life is very much doubted, his son has also a quartern ague. The news of our master's illness has so frighted me that I expect this day's letters with great impatience, as well as with fear and trembling. Good God, what a change would such an accident make! the very thought of it frights me out of my wits. God bless you, and deliver us all from that damnable curse! The printed narrative I mentioned in my last will not be published till to-morrow.

17th. In the morning I went to see the Count de Solines; the Prince dined with me; he told me

[1] In the memoir of this nobleman, appended to his works, we have some insight into this feature of his character, for which happily he expressed, some years before he died, a good deal of concern. His biographer, who treats the subject with the levity of the age, attributes his libertinism "to an impetuosity of temper too much neglected in his education, together with the prevailing fashion of the court in which he lived."

he was to meet the French Ambassador at Soufliet; that he had sent to him to know if he might meet him anywhere, and he sent him word he should find him walking there in the afternoon; he told me he should talk a great deal to him, but he should be none the wiser; he thinks these changes will quite alter the minds of the people here towards us—he does not like it at all, for he thinks it will hurt the King.

18th. I dined at Soufliet, and, talking with the Prince, he told me that this change at our Court would make it the less necessary for him to go over; that, while the Duke of Monmouth was there, the Duke was desirous he should go; now he would think he intended to set up for himself. He showed me a part of the letter the Duke writ to him, which he did not at all like, for he thought by it the King had promised him to dissolve the Parliament in case they fell upon the succession. After dinner he told Fitzpatrick of his conversation with the French Ambassador; that his first speech was, that the King his master had commanded him to wait upon him, to assure him that he ever had great kindness for him as being his relation; that the "honesteté, prudence, et courage qu'il avoit vue dans tous ces actions" had

increased his "amitié et estime" so much as to have a perfect and intime friendship with him; he said afterwards he never saw a man so out of countenance, and speak worse in all his life.

19th. I spoke to Monsieur le Prince. He told me he thought the Guarantee would be concluded on Tuesday; then we fell to talk of his coming over; he said he thought it would not be convenient at this conjuncture, for, as the Parliament did sit, he was sure they would fall upon the Duke, and if he were there at that time, the Duke would lay all upon him. On the other side, if the King should be unsatisfied with his Parliament and dissolve them, the whole nation would blame him for it; therefore he thinks at this time it would be better to stay away, but he will be ready at depth of the winter, in the worst weather to come, if his friends do see a good occasion for it; all that he desires for the present is, that he might be declared the third heir to the crown; and he does advise the King by all means to agree with his Parliament; he is for having acts passed to exclude all Catholic kings, without naming the Duke, and if he was in the House, he believes he should give his vote for it. He intends the Princess shall go to Brussels, but he will not go himself, for he should be sorry to be

clapt up in the castle at Antwerp, which he thinks would be likely enough if he passed that way.

20th. I was with the Pensioner; he told me he hoped the business would succeed; that he was at work about it, that the States are kept together a purpose, that nobody did yet suspect the reason, and he desired me to keep it secret, for if the French Ambassador should have any sight of it he might do harm. I went to Monsieur Van Beuninghen; he told me he had great hopes, that he had made several journeys, and had taken a good deal of pains to bring it to what it is; he says they are afraid of our disunion at home, and that is the only reason that keeps them off; that he is confident the French Ambassador will do nothing, though he threatens them extremely that if they enter into any new alliance with us they should have 100,000 men upon their backs. They have appointed Commissaries to treat with him, and so it will be. He showed me the alteration, which I think will be as well for us, and will make them consent a great deal sooner than as it was before; he desires nothing but a good union among ourselves, and does not doubt but we shall make our party good without great expense.

22nd. I rode out to see my horses. At night I

went to the Prince, and gave him an account of my letters. I afterwards stood by him while he was at supper. I wrote to my Lord Sunderland and Sir Henry Capel for a yacht to be here on the 10-20th. I received some letters.

THE EARL OF HALIFAX TO MR. SIDNEY.

London, September 19th, —79.

I have been indisposed and am so still, which, though it be some excuse for me that I have been so slow in answering your last, yet it must not keep me any longer from doing that which I have always so much mind to do. I do not wonder that what hath happened here lately set everybody's thoughts at work where you are; and no doubt till these riddles are cleared, we must expect nobody will be in temper to take any measures with us. But my Lord of Sunderland hath from time to time acquainted you with the state of our world, and by that enabled you to lessen if not destroy the fears that have been raised in Holland upon the late occasions, and when the things are executed which are intended, I hope the

conclusion of these matters will give as much satisfaction as the beginning of them afforded occasion for jealousy and dispute. You cannot give me a greater mark of your kindness than your continuing to do me good offices where I am so ambitious to be well, and I do not doubt you will get so good an interest there yourself, as that, besides your own satisfaction, it will be an advantage and a furtherance to those things that are designed.

It is no small mark of the Prince's credit that he hath been able to draw Monsieur Van Beuninghen from his opinion, to which he is naturally partial enough, if I do not mistake him; therefore, if our disagreements here, when the Parliament meeteth, do not prove to be such as will discourage all our friends abroad from dealing with us, I am in hopes we may join in the means for our preservation, notwithstanding the arts as well the power of France, which are both great arguments to discompose any model that can be made against them. We say here that the Duke of Monmouth will go next week, and the Duke a day after him. The King seemeth inclined to go to Newmarket; his inclination is so strong for it, that it is an ill way of making one's court to dissuade him from it,

though most wish he would stay in town for more reasons besides his health.[1]

I am ever, your most faithful Servant,

HALIFAX.

23rd. At night I went to the Prince, to let him know that the French Ambassador had been to all the towns, which he was a little surprised at, and was very much out of humour, for he told me he believed we should not do it. I told him I did not despair as much as he, for I had been talking with two principal men of the States, and they give me good hopes. I have had the good luck to have got the kindness of a good many of them, and they say that they believe I am an honest man, and that they may believe what I say.

24th. The French Ambassador was up at six

[1] Charles's life at Newmarket was one after his own heart. Sir John Reresby thus describes it: "The manner of the King's dividing his time at this place was thus—he walked in the morning till ten of the clock; then he went to the Cock Pit till dinner time; about three he went to the horse races; at six he returned to the Cock Pit, for an hour only; then he went to the play, though the actors were but of a terrible sort: from thence to supper; then to the Duchess of Portsmouth's till bed-time; and so to his own apartment to take his rest."—Reresby's *Mem.* 288.

o'clock in the morning visiting the towns; to some he spoke in soft words, but most he threatened, and spoke the most slightingly and contemptibly of us that it was possible. He was with all the towns of North Holland, and there he was mightily put to it, for those poor creatures could not understand a word of either French or Latin. This proceeding is very extraordinary, and blamed by those who are of his own party. At eleven the States met, but, the deputies being not yet come, they adjourned till to-morrow.

In the evening I was with the Prince; I found him mightily incensed against the French Ambassador; and he says, since the beginning of the Government he did not know what to think of our business, there was never any thing like it, and was impatient for Mr. Van Beuninghen coming from Amsterdam. I encouraged him all I could with telling him, that though the Parliament would grumble at the Court, yet they would be pleased with an alliance with this State, and would maintain it. I find he hath a good opinion of Freeman, and an ill one of Carr. He thinks it necessary for the King to have somebody at Amsterdam; he thought a merchant a proper man. As I came from the Prince, Monsieur Van Beuninghen and

one of the Burgomasters went in, and I passed by him. I asked him if he had any good news. He said, "Pas mauvais." When the Prince came up, he said he had another kind of opinion of our business than he had an hour ago; he had now good hopes, and said Monsieur Van Beuninghen had talked the town of Amsterdam into it. He told me how the French Ambassador had been three times to see those of Amsterdam—that he advised them to go to him—that he believed some deputies would be appointed to acquaint him with the reasons—that when one was sure of being able to do a business, he was for making it as easy as they could to them. One good thing the Prince said, that there was not one man in the Senate of Amsterdam that was against it.

25th. A Committee of the States met about ten o'clock, and sate till four. When they came out, I asked them how matters went; and they said they could not tell me, for they were under an oath of secrecy; but I said to one of our friends, that they might tell me whether they went well or ill, and he told me, "well." The French Ambassador does storm most horribly, and says he believes the King his Master will immediately declare war with them for daring to make any kind of alliance without ac-

quainting him first with it.[1] The town of Amsterdam was to see him, and the Prince advises it, he having been thrice at their house. He told them that he heard by chance that they were entering into a treaty of guarantee with the King of England, which he was much surprised at, for he imagined that there was such a friendship between his Master and them, that they would not make any alliance without acquainting him with it. They told him again, that they have had small marks of his Master's kindness to them; that he had already broke the treaty that was made the last year, in laying new impositions upon several of their commodities; and besides, they thought his Master had no reason to take it ill that they endeavoured to secure that peace which he had made last year.

26th. Mr. Car was with me, and told me that he heard we were going on very well, but he could not tell the particulars because they were all under an oath; that he heard there were several speeches made in our favour, and some against the French, and every man cried out against the French Am-

[1] There will be strict inquiry made who gave the French Ambassador the first notice of our guarantee; and if he be found, they will cut off his head in three days.—*Orig. Note.*

bassador's proceedings. Yesterday they were only in committee, where every body's mind was known, but no resolution taken. He told me at dinner that the States were separated till Wednesday: that every thing went for our advantage, though they would say nothing directly—that the actions now in the East India Company were 431. I did not stir out all day. I writ to my Lord Sunderland, Sir Wm. Temple, and Mr. Godolphin. At nine o'clock, the Duke of Monmouth[1] came, with Mr. Langley and Godfrey; he complained of my friends extremely, and told me he intended to go to Copenhagen.

MR. SIDNEY TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

My Lord,

I would not write to you this morning, because I was in hopes I might before this time have known some resolution of the States—but they separated to-day about twelve o'clock, without doing any business (some of their members being absent),

[1] He told me, among other slighting things he said of the King, that he one day told my Lord Oxford, that if he could be well as long as he lived, he cared little what happened afterwards. "Since that," saith he, "I had no hopes of him."—*Orig. Note.*

and are to meet again to-morrow. The Prince will press all he can to have powers sent to Monsieur Van Lewen, but he is yet very uncertain whether he shall obtain it. They are every day more and more afraid of France, and have perpetual intelligence out of England that makes them believe we are in a ten times worse condition than I hope we ever shall be.

In mine of the 16th, I sent you word that the Prince was of opinion that the negociation might as well be in England, and being that he finds the King is inclined to have it so, he will endeavour it all he can. In the same letter I sent you word that Monsieur Van Beuninghen was gone to Amsterdam to see in what humour that town was in towards us; he is now come back, and thinks he has done wonders. He saith he never took so much pains in his life; and when I go into England, I am to say a great deal to the King to let him know how well he is affected to his service. He thinks he hath prevailed with some of the chief of the town to be for our project of guarantee; but till they are in Assembly, one cannot be sure of any of them. He told me that the French Ambassador and the other Ministers of France do threaten them extremely, telling them they had best

have a care what measures they take with England, and then they would have a hundred thousand men quickly upon their backs.

On Saturday I was with the Pensioner. He told me he was hard at work to prepare every thing for the Assembly a Tuesday; that the Prince and he had kept the States from breaking up the last week a purpose to bring on our business, if it were possible; but he desired me by all means to keep it secret; for if the French Ambassador should have any light of it, he would do all he could to obstruct it. I find he hath a good opinion of it, though he can know nothing certainly. In yours of the 19th, you desire to know whether the States will conclude with his Majesty upon the foot of the guarantee I brought over. I am of opinion they will, and with very small amendments, and that they will be willing to have it transacted where the King pleaseth. To-morrow, about this time, I shall know positively, and will give you an account by the first opportunity. I will not pretend to have taken as much pains as Monsieur Van Beuninghen, but I have done what I could, and have great hopes of good success. Just now I am told that the French Ambassador hath some notice of what is designed for to-morrow, and hath

been running about to all the houses of the towns, to endeavour to prevent it.

27th. The Duke dined here, and went to the Italian [sic]; he met the Princess there. At night he went to the Prince, and was mighty well received: he offered him his house in town, invited him to come a-hunting, and dissuaded him from going to Hamburg. In the morning, Monsieur Van Beuninghen was with me: he told me that he had been with the French Ambassador, how he told them that he could not imagine the King his Master would take it ill the making the Guarantee. Mr. Meredith told me that the French Ambassador began to think he had done too much, and now saith that he had no order for what he said, but that he did it of his own accord out of kindness to them. Every body saith that he repents what he has done. He asked me if there was no trick in the Guarantee, in which I satisfied him. He then said it was lucky for me, and that the King ought to be well pleased.

28th. I went to Schevelin with the Duke of Monmouth. He told me how angry the people were with the Duke and the Ministers, and the trouble they express at his going away; he spoke a good deal of his own melancholy prospects; that all

depended upon the life of the King. He showed me his letter, which was very kind: he would fain have had the Duke stayed, so he might have stayed. The King said he could not, because he would be impeached.

We dined with the Prince, and after dinner we went to Hounslerdyke. The Duke writ to the King to let him know how kind the Prince had been to him; he said it would so vex the Duke. I doubt he hath said so much that it will make the Prince cool in the alliance.

29th. I saw the review. The Duke of Monmouth went to Utrecht. I heard of the Duke's coming to the Hague. Mr. Meredith told me that the town of Amsterdam was in balance what to do, and that Friesland was resolved to be against the alliance, in opposition to the Prince of Orange. Monsieur Asperen dined with me: he is President of the Comittee de Rat'd, which is composed of the Nobles, one of each town. I am advised to demand satifaction for the affront D'Avaux hath done us, in saying that he might have us for a little money whenever his Master pleased. At night I spoke with the Prince. He told me of the Duke's coming; he does not know very well the reason. He told me a good deal of

his conversation; and one particular, that if he thought of the Crown, he could not be his friend in that, but in every thing else he would.

30th. Mr. Bracey dined here. He told me the Provinces could not but consent if Holland did, for if she refused, and any ill came of it, all the fault and expense would fall upon that Province, the others having professed against it; and if any town was obstinate, then the States would send Deputies to know the reason, and sometimes they sent ten, and sometimes twenty, all upon the town's charge. Monsieur Huniken was with me to desire me to write into England in the behalf of Hambourg.

October 1st. Monsieur Siegle, in the name of his Master, desired the King's interposition. Monsieur Campricht brought a copy of a letter he writt to Monsieur D'Avaux, and wondered he had no answer from him; he would have had me move in it. I told him I never saw him; then he told me the Elector of Saxe was a poor Prince, for the Dukedom was now divided into many branches, none considerable in Low Germany, but the Princes of Brunswick and Brandenburg, and they were now going to weaken one another. The King of France takes Bitch and Homberg, that he hath no right

to, and makes several towns of Alsatia do him homage. Mr. Ancell, an English Colonel, was to see me, and Monsieur Monpolian, and Count Noaille. Mr. Bracey came, and told me that the States were up without doing any thing, for Leyden was not there. Delf would enter into a league with France as well as with us. Dort and Brill for us. Pats, and the rest of the Arminian faction at Rotterdam against us, but they were overruled. In the evening I went to the Prince; he told me I was better informed than he, for the town of Amsterdam was changed; that now they would not admit of a guarantee with us, without entering into a league defensive with France, which the Prince hath no mind to consent to, for these reasons: because it would make a perpetual division in the Commonwealth; and if there should be any difference between England and them, it would be a disputable case of whose side it should be. On the other side, if they should refuse it, it may be they, with their industry, might get the Dutch of their side, and leave us out. He seemed to be mightily out of humour. I told him all I knew of the Duke of Monmouth, and what I fancied was to be the cause of the Duke's coming. I gave him my opinion upon it, which he thanked

me for; afterwards I supped with him and the Princess at Monsieur Bentem's.

2nd. Mr. Carr was with me; he told me he was not yet out of hopes; that he thought the States would be adjourned for a fortnight; that in that time the Prince might perhaps bring them to it. Monsieur D'Avaux sent to the Prince to desire him not to hasten this alliance, because he believed there might be some expedient found that might be pleasing to his Master. He sent him word he would not hasten it, because he knew he could not if he would. He lays much of the fault upon the English Fanatics, who say we are not to be relied upon, and that the King hath prorogued his Parliament: that it was a question whether they should ever meet; and if they did, they were sure they would do no business, there being so many factions on foot.

I hear that Monsieur Ameringen is to go to Brandenburg; that the States are adjourned till the afternoon; then they met and adjourned themselves to the 4th of November.

3rd. Monsieur Sas with me; he proposed to send some auxiliaries. I dined with the Prince: after dinner, he took me in, and I showed him Sir William Temple's letter. He told me he was

much in the right; he is vexed at the Duke's coming, because he shall plainly tell him his mind, which he is sure the Duke will not like; he would have me tell the Parliament his mind, as to the King's agreeing with them. He cannot possibly go over, for the business that is here, besides that which is in England. I heard to-day that the Duke of Monmouth had an ague, but he desired it might not be spoke of. I writ to my Lord Sunderland to give him an account of our ill success,[1] and to the Duke of Monmouth.

4th. I made visits all the morning; was with Monsieur Van Beuninghen. He told me they were all undone if the King did not agree with his Par-

[1] The following is an extract from Algernon Sidney's works, quoted by Ralph, arguing upon what the result would have been, had this plan of the Guarantee been accepted by the States.

"It is said in religion, that nothing is more terrible than the return of ill-conceived prayers: so nothing is more to be feared in politics, than the success of unreasonable and ill-grounded Councils. And though the proposition that was made, being rejected, will certainly raise the party in Holland that is least for the Prince of Orange, and cast it into a dependance upon France; that is less mortal than a League that certainly would have produced a rupture of the Peace, renewed the war all over Europe, and exposed Flanders to be lost the first year, which this must have done; it being as certain that the assistances from hence would have failed, as that it hath not in itself that which is necessary for its defence."—Ralph, i. 488.

liament. He told me of a letter that was directed to the Greffier Fagell, bidding the States have a care how they displeased the King of France, offered them great matters if they would be his friends, as helping them to men and ships, promising them all means of assistance in their commerce. He said the Prince had a copy of the letter. I stood by him all supper, and thought him out of humour. In the afternoon Monsieur Sas was with me, and told me of a project to get the King a great many millions; Sir Gabriel Sylvius to be joined in it.

5th. Monsieur Sas told me of his project, which I did not approve of, because it is raising money without a Parliament. Mr. Rockwood dined here; he told me several things of the Prince, as his not minding the public business. At night I was in the drawing-room.

6th. About three in the afternoon, the Duke and Duchess came to town. He immediately took the Prince aside, and kept him in conversation about an hour, and, by what I perceived, the Prince was not much satisfied. After that I had a good deal of discourse with him. I told him what had passed here. He said he could not blame them for it, it showed they were wise

people. He then told me how mightily he was satisfied with my Lord Sunderland, and said he would answer for me, upon which I made him some compliments. He hath no opinion that this Parliament will do any good, and is very glad to find the King can live without them. I said, "Very scurvily, and that he must not think of any alliance;" but he thinks they will be willing when they see he can live without them. I find plainly by him that the Parliament will not sit, and I believe the Ministers expect to be fallen upon as soon as the Duke, which makes me think matters will go ill. The Duke said he did not apprehend the French, and yet a little before he said they would have 100,000 foot quartered in the towns of Flanders.

7th. I was at the Duke's levee; the Prince was there. He told me he did not like our business in England, by his discourse yesterday with the Duke. He hopes Lord Sunderland does but make the Duchess believe great matters; he is sorry to find the ministers are afraid of the Parliament, for by that he thinks they will not agree to what they desire, and then we are all undone. At night there came an express from the King to the Duke, which brought him leave to go into Scotland,

which he is mightily delighted with; the same brought me a letter from my Lord Sunderland, which told me the same thing, and gave me order to send on an inclosed letter from the King to the Duke of Monmouth. I told the Duke of it, and he desired me to send it away as soon as I could, which I did in half an hour; the Prince is not at all pleased with it. When the company was gone, he took me into his bed-chamber, and told me the contents of the King's letter to the Duke, which were that he should come to the Downs, and there stay till further orders. The Prince thinks it well for him, but not for the King; he bids adieu to all Parliaments; he finds these Lords are quite changed; he would not let me stay long for fear of the Duke's servants. He saith he never saw such people—I writ to my Lord Sunderland and Sir William Temple.

8th. I was with the Duke, and found them preparing for their journey; he told me if his journey into Scotland had as good success as his journey into England, he should be quite content. At night the Duchess of Modena came to Court with a melancholy face. The Duke's servants say all the Papists are troubled at his going into Scotland.

9th. About eight the Duke began his journey. I went with him as far as Mayslandsluys, so did the Prince and Princess, and when we came home I dined with them at Monsieur Bentem's. At night I took leave of him, he being to go the next day to Soesdyke; he invited me twice to come thither; he told me that the Duke suspected I was too much the Duke of Monmouth's friend. At night I writ to the Duke to give him an account of what the Duke of Monmouth said; the letter was brought back again, he having set sail two hours before.

10th. Mr. Meredith was with me, to acquaint me of Mr. Serjeant's desire to go into England with me; and told me withal that he knew nothing of the Plot, but that he was an enemy to the Jesuits, and would write against them. Mr. Carr was with me, and told me how the Prince neglected his business; that the French had ten Commissaries that were perpetually going between this place and Amsterdam, and some of the States, that gave him information. He told me what an ill reputation Fitzpatrick had amongst them, that he counterfeited Bills of Exchange, and was fain to fly upon it. In the afternoon Mr. Sergeant was with me; he resolved to go over the next packet, and

to dine here on Tuesday; he intended to stay at Amsterdam to learn Hebrew; he is a man of sense.

11th. I went to Rotterdam; in my way I saw Delf, and the place there where Prince William was killed and his tomb. Mr. Bracey told me how Monsieur Odyke had ruined Zealand; that their bank was quite broke; that he was selling places to make up his losses and expenses at Paris. At night I was with Fitzpatrick; we talked freely of everything, and concluded we were in ill condition; he was very sensible that others were not sensible of it, and to find people don't mind business more; the Pensioner scarce to be spoken to, and now gone out of town.

12th. In the morning I was with Monsieur Campricht; he told me, unless these people take courage, which would be done only by our union at home, all was lost; that the French had got the ascendant there very much by this last business, and now they are down they will keep them so. He hath writ to his master to let him know that it is necessary for him to send a minister into England to assist in making a good correspondence between the King and his people.

13th. Monsieur Campricht, dining here, told me of a Doctor who undertakes to get gold out of the

sand of the sea. He is of Spire; his name is Doctor Becker. The first experiment was made before the Pensioner at Haarlem, and some other of the States; then they made the report of it, and they think it feasible, and have agreed to give him 50,000 crowns and two in the hundred of all he makes; he undertakes that the profit shall be a hundred in a hundred; next week the experiment is to be made at the house for casting of cannon. The States that saw the experiment are sworn to secrecy. In April he proposed this. Mr. Rockwood thinks he is a cheat: he hath had thoughts of going into England; he is as poor as other chymists use to be. Mr. Rockwood tells me that Mr. Sergeant knows a great deal; that he was ghostly father to Coleman's wife. The Duke hates him; he was first a Protestant, and studied at Cambridge, then a Roman Catholic but no Papist, and will take the oath of Supremacy; he will prove that a Jesuit said that the Queen might lawfully poison the King for violating her bed. He hath writ against Stillingfleet and Dr. Hammond.[1] In the morning I

[1] Some months after this, one Sergeant, a secular priest, who had been always on ill terms with the Jesuits, and who was a zealous Papist in his own way, appeared before the Council upon security given him, and he averred that Cowan, the Jesuit, who died protesting that he had never thought it

was with Monsieur Rounswinckle; he tells me that the only thing that can save these Low Countries is to have an Alliance between England, the States, and the Elector of Brandenburgh, which will depend upon our agreement at home. In the evening, I gave my letter to the Prince and to Monsieur Zulestein.

14th. Mr. Carr told me how the Duke of Monmouth was twice at church, that he was feasted by the fanatics at dinner. Mr. Serjeant came to me with a resolution of going into England; but, having

lawful to murder Kings, but had always detested it, had, at his last being in Flanders, said to a very devout person, from whom Leylant had it, that he thought the Queen might lawfully take away the King's life, for the injuries he had done her, but much more because he was a heretic. Upon that, Sergeant ran out into many particulars, to shew how little credit was due to the protestations of the Jesuits, made even at their death. This gave some credit to the tenderest part of Oates's evidence with relation to the Queen. It shewed that the trying to do it by her means had been thought of by them. All this was only evidence from second hand, so it signified little. Sergeant was much blamed for it by all his own side. He had the reputation of a sincere and good but of an indiscreet man."—Burnet's *Hist.* ii. 219. He was an eminent controversial writer amongst the Romanists, an opponent of Hammond, Bramhall,* and Tillotson.

* Amongst Archbishop Bramhall's works will be found two which were answers to Sergeant, who appears to have written under the signature S. W.—Note to Burnet's *Hist.*

called God to witness he could tell nothing of the plan, but only put the King in a way of driving the Jesuits out of England, I thought it was better for him not to go for the present, but to promise to be ready whenever I should send to him. I gave him six ducatoons for his journey. He hates the Jesuits, and he is unwilling to come at this time, because he thinks it will be an advantage to them, he being able to tell nothing. I writ to my Lord Sunderland, Sir William Temple, and G. Spencer; I believe it is likely I may be blamed for not letting him come over; all I can say is, when I thought he could tell anything, I pressed him extremely to make haste to come over; when I found he could tell nothing, I did not press him.

18th. I went to Amsterdam. I had with me at supper Monsieur de Ruiter, Vice-Admiral, and Mr. Krick. They told me how the Duke of Monmouth was at church in the afternoon; that he courted them mightily, told them how glad he would be to see them because they were good Protestants, upon which they invited him to dinner and afterwards to supper; he lay at one May's, a barber, a great enemy of the King's. The chief man that invited him was one Hays, a phanatic; Stiles and Prince, great merchants, would not be

there. Krick is a man that sends over much shipping. The Duke of Monmouth had eighteen with him, and all came into the church. I bought six pounds of tea, which cost thirteen guilders a pound.[1]

[1] It was in this year, 1678, that the East India Company began the importation of tea as a branch of trade: the quantity received at that time amounted to four thousand seven hundred and thirteen pounds. It had been introduced into England in Cromwell's time, as is proved by an advertisement preserved in the British Museum, from which the following is an extract. "And to the end that all persons of eminency and quality, gentlemen and others, who have occasion for tea in leaf, may be supplied, these are to give notice that the said Thomas Garraway (in Exchange Alley, near the Royal Exchange, Tobacconist, and Seller and Retailer of Tea and Coffee), hath tea to sell from sixteen to fifty shillings the pound."

To follow a little further the history of tea, it appears that in 1726 it maintained nearly the same prices as those above mentioned. Dr. Sherard, writing to Dr. Richardson, says, that 12s. per lb. was paid for 3lbs. of Bohea Tea in London, which is cheaper by 3s. than it can be bought in the shops. Nicholls's *Lit. Illust.*, i. 400.

Those who feel any interest in tracing the growth of one of the most common of our customs may refer to Dr. Johnson's Review of Jonas Hanway's "Journal of eight days' Journey," and D'Israeli's Paper on the introduction of tea, coffee, and chocolate.—*Cur. Lit.*, v. 204.

"Coffee Drink" was made and sold in London in 1652, but we find in Anthony Wood's Diary that a coffee-house was opened in Oxford two years before, in 1650, by Jacob, a Jew. Though Lord Bacon considered that coffee "comforted the

19th. I came from Amsterdam, and came by Hortwich and Catwick, and stuck in a quicksand an hour by the sea-side.

20th. Mr. Plot brought me some gilliflower seed, which cost five ducatoons. Monsieur Campricht was with me; he told me how Bitch and Homberg belong to the empire; that he should be sorry Monsieur Van Beuninghen should be sent into Spain; they think of one Stangerland; he and some others tell me that the King of France will not evacuate Wesel, to keep them in awe; that he hears they are making great preparations for the war, that he is

brain and heart, and helped digestion," yet, in 1657, one Farr, a barber, who kept the Rainbow, was prosecuted by the Inquest of his Ward as the cause "of a great nuisance and prejudice to the neighbourhood." Who would have thought (says Hatton, in his London, 1708) that London would have had near 300 such nuisances, and that coffee would have been so much drank as now by the best of quality and physicians?

Mr. Henry Savile, Ambassador at Paris, writing to his uncle, Secretary Coventry, about this time speaks of the good reception he had always found at his house, and adds, "These, I hope, are the charms that have prevailed with me to remember (that is, to trouble you) oftener than I am apt to do other of my friends, whose buttery-hatch is not so open, and who call for tea, instead of pipes and bottles after dinner; a base, unworthy Indian practice, and which I must ever admire your most Christian family for not admitting."—Sir Henry Ellis's *Collection of Letters*, 2 Series, iv. 58. Garraway's Coffee-House still retains its name.

fortifying those places where the Duke of Lorraine was coming in. He told me that the French Ambassador was with the Pensioner, that he did jeer him a good while because he would not give him the hand; afterwards Mr. Plot told me he had been with Mr. Rockwood, that he had been telling me how Monsieur D'Avaux had said he expected I should make him a visit before I went into England. He takes it ill that I have not been there all this while; he speaks of a health that was drunk at my table, to the confusion of France.

Monsieur Hoste was with me, and told me, as all the other ministers do, "que tout depend d'Angleterre." He saith they would speak much higher if there was any power that would back them. In the morning, I was with Monsieur Van Beuninghen. He saith all is lost unless the King does agree with his Parliament, for the States and all the Princes of Germany will make their Alliance with France before the next spring, unless they have hopes of some help from us, and then it will be too late. Monsieur Van Beuninghen will sell all he hath, and go and live at Constantinople. He saith we must make a League with Spain, for we have no power at hand able to resist France a month, and therefore, to balance her greatness on shore, we ought

to make ours at sea, in which Spain may assist a good deal. As I was with Mr. Rockwood, he told me stories of the French Ambassador; he asked me if I would see him; I told him I would ask the Prince.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

Whitehall, October 10th.

We are extremely troubled here at the ill success of our Guarantee, but we hope it will have a better at another time, which must be endeavoured on all sides; nothing shall be wanting here, I am sure. I have taken care that a yacht may be at the Brill the 22nd of this month. By the post that goes from hence this day se'nnight, you shall have your leave, and instructions what to do before you come away. The Duke is expected here in two or three days, having liberty to go into Scotland by land, if he likes it best, which I believe he will. I am impatient to see you more than you can imagine. I hope you will not think our affairs in so desperate a condition as you have been told.

I am absolutely yours,

SUNDERLAND.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

Whitehall, October 17th, 1679.

Sir,

I have moved the King for leave for you to come over here for some short time; and his Majesty being pleased to consent to it, you shall find a yacht attend in the Mues by the 23rd inst. to transport you. His Majesty bids me likewise acquaint you, that he has prorogued the Parliament till the 26th of January next, and that one of the chief reasons which induced him to it was the desire he had that the alliance between him and the States may be concluded before the meeting of the Parliament; and his Majesty says, he hopes the Prince and Pensioner both will continue to use their utmost endeavours to and dispose the States to finish this work of alliance accordingly, before January. His Majesty would have you acquaint the Prince and Pensioner herewith, and that your stay on this side will not be long, but that his Majesty intends you should return to the Hague in a few weeks.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

SUNDERLAND.

22nd. At ten in the morning I arrived at Waesdyke. I found the Princess just going to Amsterdam. I told the Prince of the prorogation; he was much troubled, and said we were all undone; that we could not expect the States here would take any measures till they saw us better settled. All we can hope is to hinder them from making an Alliance with France. He thinks we intend to fall in with France, and, by the letters he received to-day from Paris, he hath great reason to suspect it. The Ambassador sent him word that there was money lately gone into England. The Prince hears from the Hague that they think the Parliament is prorogued because they refused the Alliance, which he was not sorry for; he saith 'tis a folly to think they will do it before the 25th of January. The Prince had a great mind to have stopt my journey, for he saith it will be necessary for me to be here. I spoke to him about Mr. Carr, and have his consent, and about Mr. Bracey, and have his promise; he was a-shooting all day and supt late; at ten I received an express to bring over Mr. Serjeant.

23rd. I took my leave of the Prince. He said he would write to the King, and bid me tell my Lord Sunderland and the other Ministers he in-

tended to have writ to them by me, but now there was nothing to be said; he desired me to make them his compliments, and to the Duchess of Portsmouth. At ten I arrived at the Hague, and sent for Mr. Meredith; he shewed me a letter from Mr. Serjeant, by which I find that he hath a great mind to be sent for over—he writ to the King.

24th. I received a letter from Mr. Serjeant, and sent for him as earnestly as I could. I went afterwards to Monsieur Van Beuninghen; he thinks we are all undone if the King thinks of living without a Parliament—that the Prince, the Pensioner, and he, will be the first; that we must endeavour to make an alliance with Spain; that it will be to no purpose to propose one here till there be some likelihood of our being settled; and if we do continue in the condition we are, and the French continue to press for an alliance, they will make them all the promises that can be, which will do a great deal with people that are afraid. I went then to Mr. Rockwood; we talked a great deal of Mr. Serjeant; he thinks him a shuffling fellow that hath a great mind to get something, and is afraid of everybody. He told me how the Duke and the Jesuits had a great mind to have Coleman hanged —that my Lord of Danby desired it more than he.

25th. I was with the Pensioner, who is troubled as all the world is at the prorogation, but he says we must make the best of it, and see what can be done.

26th. I sent to Monsieur de Werkendam, he being President, to desire to wait upon him; but he prevented me and came himself. Mr. Rockwood said that he was unwilling to be examined, but that he was contented to have his narratives read before them both, which was done, but Mr. Serjeant denied several passages of it. I went afterwards, and took my leave of my friends; and at twelve went in the Prince's yacht.

27th. At four o'clock I arrived at Mayslandsluys, and was five hours going to the Brill; at twelve, we set sail from thence, got clear of the sands by four o'clock, and then came to an anchor.

28th. The wind being west, we stood into Zealand; about twelve, the wind came north, and at eleven we came to Margate.

29th. We set sail at six, and came to Greenwich at two. At six I waited upon the King, and told him all I knew of Mr. Serjeant, which he was well enough pleased with. He asked me how matters went in Holland. I said they were not well pleased with the Prorogation; he complained

a little of the Prince, that he would not be persuaded. At night, I was with my Lord Sunderland; he told me the whole story of the Duke; how the Duke of Monmouth's proceedings and the Earl of Shaftesbury were not to be endured; that if the King had died, he would have made great troubles, either setting up for himself, or for a Commonwealth. That the Parliament was to be prorogued; Lords Essex and Halifax discontented. He thinks matters do not go so ill as we think. The Duchess of Portsmouth I find is not well with the Prince, but extremely well with the Duke. The King kinder to him than ever; he is to come back out of Scotland, and never to go again; he thinks to quiet every thing by his going. The Duke of Monmouth will come back when the Duke does.

30th. I carried Mr. Serjeant to the King, who was well pleased with him. He made the same protestations that he had done to me; that he knew nothing of the plot.

31st. Mr. Serjeant was before the King in Council, who gave them all good satisfaction. My Lord Sunderland told me of the project, which I approved of.

November 1st. I was with Sir William Temple, who is discontented; talks of giving over all public

thoughts; he thinks matters go ill; and I find they do with him, for neither the King or the Duke do like him.[1] They think that he puts the Prince upon all those notions and opinions that he writes perpetually about; they would be glad that the Prince would not so much hearken to him; and that he would fall into measures with the King, which is thought the wisest thing he can do, for if the King should take measures with France, he would be in ill condition; and for the present, I do not know what else he can do. The Duke is unsatisfied with him, and thinks he intends to set up for himself. Sir William Temple thinks he hath nothing to do but to be quiet. He told me how my Lady of Essex had writ to him,

[1] "I was now in a posture to be admirably pleased with having no part in public affairs. The Duke unsatisfied with me of late; the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury from the first; Lord Essex and Halifax out of all commerce with me upon what had passed; great civility from the other ministers, but no communication; and the King himself, though very gracious, yet very reserved. Upon all this and the melancholy prospect of our distractions at home, and thereupon the disasters threatening abroad, but chiefly upon my own native humours, born for a private life, and particular conversation or general leisure, I resolved to give over all part in public affairs, and came no more either to Court or Council in a month's time, which I spent chiefly in the country."—Temple's *Works*, ii. 523.

to desire him to persuade her Lord to quit, for she could not approve of the ways that were taken, and was unwilling her friends should be engaged in them. He was at Cashiobury to talk with her about it.[1]

November 2nd. Mr. Montague was with me; he told me his opinion of Lord Essex, Lord Halifax, and my brother Algernon. I received a letter from the Prince, and gave his to the King. There was more talk this day of the plot than ever. Sir John Baber told me how little the Prince was beloved; that the alliance would not be approved of, because it was thought it would be to his advantage.

3rd. I was with Mr. Foulkes, and resolved to put off my business as much as it was possible till the next term: I went to the Chancellor and Mr. Pelham.

4th. I writ to the Prince and Mr. Fitz' Patrick. Lord Sunderland writ a long letter in cipher to the Duke about me. At night he told me that his business would not do. I was with my Lord Halifax, and found him melancholy and uncertain what to do.

[1] "His Lady [Lady Essex] being sister to the late Earle of Northumberland, is a wise but somewhat melancholy woman." —Evelyn's *Mem.* i. 518.

5th. I was with my Lord Shaftesbury; he told me the whole story of his being to be killed. In the morning I had talk with my Lord of Essex; he told me he wondered the Prince could talk with such a villain as Fitz' Patrick. A cipher of his was found among Coleman's papers. He owned his being resolved to quit. Sir Harry Capel means to move for the sitting of parliament, and would have Sir William Temple to assist. A project was resolved to bring the Lord Chancellor into the Treasury. The King approves of it; he is to be with him to-morrow.

The Duke has given full power to Lord Sunderland to make what conditions he pleases, and with whom. I writ to the Prince of Orange.

MR. SIDNEY TO THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.

November 4.

Sir,

I had writ to you by the last post, but that I was kept a Friday so long at the Council about the examination of the person I told you of at Soesdyke, that I could not have time to write to you, which otherwise I should not have failed of, though I could not hope to have informed you of any

thing pleasing. The best news I can tell you is, the King shows great concern for you in every particular, and would be very glad to have you approve the measures he does intend to take, which are not to be written, and, therefore, I am to make haste over, that you may be fully acquainted with every thing.

You will find great changes since I waited upon you at Dieren, and I doubt you will not say they are for the better. I can scarcely forbear writing freely my whole mind, but I must consider the uncertainty of a letter, and defer it till I have the honour to see you, which I hope to do the latter end of the next week; for the present, I will only tell you that the chief business which we apprehended, I am satisfied, is not so bad as we imagined, and I hope never will. The King, I think, is as well in his health as he hath been these many years: he is much abroad, and these last days hath been taken up in the examination of a new plot, which now makes as much noise as the former did. The principal person concerned is one Mr. Willoughby, who saith that my Lord Arundel and my Lord Powys have hired him to kill the King, which he refused; then they offered him £500 to kill my Lord Shaftesbury, and that he undertook:

this is believed by a great many, but others will give no credit to it, he being known to be as great a rogue as any in England.

6th. Lord Sunderland was with Shaftesbury: he could do no good with him; he saith it will not be in his power to do the King any service. He was to be with him again this afternoon, to advise him to part with the Queen and the Duke, but he would not come after Lord Sunderland had been with him.

Lord Sunderland told me he had been with the Dutch Ambassador, and that he advised us as a private friend that we should agree with what number of ships and men we were to help one another.

7th. I was with my Lord Halifax, and found him out of humour: he told me of Lord Shaftesbury and Montague coming into favour. At night I found Lord Sunderland out of humour; he told me that the Committee of Intelligence was put off, and that there was a council to be held on Monday, to consider what was to be done about this plot.[1]

[1] I was told that the Duke brought Willoughby to the King; he is much blamed for it. We are afraid he will never leave off tampering, though he promises he will.—*Orig. Note.*

8th. I went to my Lord President. He desired to know if there are many statesmen in Holland; and if the Pensioner was one.

9th. My Lord Sunderland was ill, but yet was at church. Sir Harry Capel intended to move for a new Parliament, but there is nothing to be done for the present.

10th. The King went to see a ship launched. Lord Halifax told me he thought the Prince would do well to come over; he is very irresolute what to do; the King is unsatisfied with him and Lord Essex.

Lord Sunderland told me he thought the King would do well to speak to every one at the Council, and hear what they can say concerning the Parliament. I writ to the Prince of Orange.

MR. SIDNEY TO THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.

November 10.

I did resolve to have writ to you every post; but our world will not furnish me with any thing worth troubling you with. On Sunday last a Council was appointed to consider of the ways of pursuing the plot. Among other things which were thought necessary for carrying on the de-

sign, the meeting of the Parliament was proposed by my Lord of Essex, but the King said that was not the business of the day, and so would not let him speak any more of it. Several others offered at it, but the King would not let it come to a debate; he still putting them off with saying that there were laws enough in England to punish offenders, that it was not necessary to call a Parliament for it.

Our scene is quite changed since I went into England; the whole story of it I must defer till I have the happiness to see you, and now will only tell you that some of our friends are most horribly unsatisfied. My Lord of Essex hath thought of quitting, but hath not yet told his mind to the King. My Lord Halifax is sick and out of humour, and sometimes talks of retiring, but is not yet resolved upon any thing. Sir William Temple stays at Shene, and never comes to Councils or into any company. This is very different to what was four months ago. What will be the next change, God only knows!

Being you was pleased to recommend Mr. Fitz' Patrick's concerns to my care, I must tell you that I have spoke to my Lords Sunderland and Essex on his behalf, but to little purpose; he hath so

very ill a reputation, that every body is ashamed of appearing for him. My Lord of Essex saith he believes he is the worst man in the world, which every body will find in six months after he hath been in a place. I writ to him the last week, to tell him I could do him no service, but did not write all the particulars. I said something of this when I parted with you, but I have heard many things of him since, which hath increased my bad opinion of him.

I know I do not write with the respect I owe you, but it is because you have commanded it, and, therefore, I will only say that no man in the world loves you better, nor is more ready to do you service.

11th. I went with Sir Harry Capell to Mr. Montague; in the way he told me how every thing had passed that same day at the Council: I find him extremely unsatisfied at the King's proceedings; he tells me they will again attempt it. When I came back, Lord Sunderland told me how I must set him right with the Prince: I am to tell him the whole story, and how all that hath been done could not be avoided; he can't say but that the King may at some time take measures with France, but never to the prejudice of the Prince

and the Low Countries: Lord Essex told him of his resolution to quit. He went to persuade Lord Halifax to accept, but he refused.

12th. Mr. Montague was with me to propose some expedient for uniting: I proposed my Lord Shaftesbury being of the Treasury; he said he would do all he could to persuade him. I met Monsieur Van Lewen; he told me he was afraid we were making an alliance with France, but now he was well assured there was nothing in it.

13th. I was with Mr. Pelham: met Sir William Jones, dined with Mr. Montague, who told me Lord Shaftesbury would not accept of being Commissioner of the Treasury; Sir Stephen Fox thought of. In the evening I spoke to the King of my going; he said he would consider of what was to be said to the Prince of Orange.

14th. The King went to Hampton Court. I was with Mr. Hide and my Lord of Essex: he is horribly vext; told me the story of the plot, and thinks we shall be all undone; he bids me tell the Prince that they are endeavouring to get witnesses to swear the King was married to the Duke of Monmouth's mother.[1] I dined with Sir William

[1] The story of a contract of marriage between the King and Lucy Walters, the Duke of Monmouth's mother, secretly kept

Jones; he thinks we shall be undone. In the evening I went to my Lord Halifax: he desired me to tell the Prince he would write to him if he had any thing to say. I went then to Sir William Temple, and found him with the gout; he talks of never meddling with public business; he is of opinion I should have no other instructions; that being I came over about my particular business, I should return, and not give the King an account of all occurrences, and, without saying any thing of an alliance, he would have the Prince write his sense to the King, and would have him join the Duke of Monmouth; they would be a strong party. My Lord Sunderland told of Sir Stephen Fox's being a Commissioner of the Treasury, of his discourse with Mr. Hide, that we were to dine together, to consider what would be best to be said to the Prince.

15th. I met my Lord of Essex in the King's bedchamber, and went with him to the Treasury. I found him apt to laugh and despise the Treasury: I spoke for money for the robes; they said I should

in a black box, had been industriously spread abroad and was greedily received by the multitude. The Duke of York desired his brother to satisfy him and the publick by a declaration of the Duke of Monmouth's illegitimacy; and Charles in full council made such declaration.—Hume.

have an assignment before Christmas, and ready money after. At 12 o'clock I met my Lord Sunderland; he told me that my business was done; that they had resolved I should propose nothing, but only expect what they would say to me; I am to endeavour to hinder any alliance with France; I am to tell the Prince that the King will prorogue the Parliament, that there was no remedy, that they would have his crown; he desired me to tell him how he was his servant, and that it must be he at last that must settle us; he hopes we are not in so ill a condition as people imagine; he thinks the Parliament would have been so violent that nothing would satisfy them but the Duke and the Queen, which would not be well for him; he assures him of his kindness, and that he will never do any thing to his prejudice; he does not say but that we may make some alliance with France at some time or other, but will never do it without consulting with the Prince, but at present he is sure there is nothing of that on foot. At twelve, I was with Halifax; he is strongly discontented; the French Ambassador busy, the Duchess of Portsmouth has more power than ever, and the Duke's party governs.[1]

[1] I must remember some butter for my Lady Worcester, and some cheese for Mrs. Fraser and Mrs. Foulkes.—*Orig. N.*

16th. We met at my Lord Sunderland's to consider what was to be said to the Prince, and we resolved that I should let him know that the people were so inflamed by late accidents that there was no hope of agreeing with them; that they would ask more than was fit for the King to give; that, as to any treaties, the King was ready to receive any proposals that would be made to him, and would consent to any that are reasonable; that he would make no offer because he had been already refused: he talked then of the Duke of Monmouth being so well used, which I am to give a particular account of.

At dinner I spoke about Mr. Carr's business, and Mr. Hide seconded me: I took my leave of a great many. At night I was with the King: he told me I should inform the Prince of the measures he intended to take, but that it was plain he could not let the Parliament sit above a week; that it was better not meeting than parting angrily; that he knew they would impeach the Duke, and fall upon all that he considered right; that they would be glad to mutiny, and only wanted a head, which the Parliament would be; that he hoped this violence would wear off, and then he should be glad to meet his Parliament: in the mean time,

he said, he intended to live upon his revenues, and do all he can to satisfy his people.[1]

In the evening, my Lord of Essex told the King of his intentions to quit. He said little to him, but was horribly vexed. Sir Stephen Fox kissed the King's hand.[2] I was with Sir William Temple;

[1] The King resolves to live upon his revenues; and if he will keep to the scheme that is now laid before him, he will do it, and lay up £250,000 to clear the anticipations.—*Orig. N.*

[2] "I dined with Sir Stephen Fox, now one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury. This gentleman came first a poore boy from the quire at Salisbury; then was taken notice of by Bishop Duppa, and afterwards waited on my Lord Percy, who procured for him an inferior place among the clerks of the kitchen and green cloth side, where he was found so humble, diligent, industrious, and prudent in his behaviour, that, his Majesty being in exile, and Mr. Fox waiting, both the King and the Lords about him frequently employed him in their own affairs, trusting him with receiving and paying the little money they had. Returning with his Majesty to England, after great wants and great sufferings, his Majesty found him so honest and industrious, and withall so capable and ready, that, being advanced from the Clerk of the Kitchen to that of the Green Cloth, he procured to be Paymaster to the whole Army; and, by his dexterity and punctual dealing among the banquiers, that he was in a short time able to borrow vast sums of them, upon an exigence. The continual turning thus of money, and the soldiers' moderate allowance to him for his keeping touch with them; did so enrich him, that he is believed to be worth at least £200,000, honestly gotten and unenvied, which is next to a miracle. With all this, he continues as humble and ready to do a courtesie as ever he was. He is generous, and lives very honourably; of a swete

he told me he intended to quit, when he spoke of proroguing the Parliament, and going into France: we talked of the Prince and the Duke of Monmouth being of a party. He said how strong they would be: as to the Prince, he said there was nothing for him to do but to get a boy, and he hath given me a receipt for it.

17th. I met Sir John Baber at my Lord Sunderland's, and then went with him to his own house. He still complains of the Prince's unkindness to the Presbyterians: he tells me my business is to join the Prince and the Duke of Monmouth, and that the Duke's business is to unite Scotland. Every body talks of the Prince's kindness to the Duke of Monmouth. I went afterwards to Sir W. Temple: he is for the Prince's writing for the Parliament, as he uses to do: and he would have him mind the popular interest.

When I took my leave of the Duchess of Portsmouth, she bade me tell the Prince she was more his friend than he imagined: she is absolutely in with the Duke. Mrs. Wall loves him above all things: he would have given her 500 guineas, but

nature, well spoken, well bred; and is so highly in his Majesty's esteeme, and so useful, that being long since made a knight, he is to be advanced to be one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury."—*Evelyn's Mem.* i., 25.

she refused it.[1] All the Duke's servants are much elevated. This night there were great marks of joy, and burning of the Pope, where there was 200,000 people.

18th. I went to my Lord Sunderland with a design of taking my leave, but the weather not being good, he persuaded me to stay. At night I was with my Lady. She told me, how afraid the Lord Mayor was that there would be some trouble. My sister Sunderland spoke to me for a China cup. Lady Sunderland told me how the Duke of Monmouth had a mind to the Guard, to dissatisfy the Parliament. Lord Sunderland told the King of it; and told him further, that if he was of that mind he would have no more to say to him. The Duke was ill received at York. The King sent to chide them.

19th. I came in a barge to the Greyhound frigate. We had no wind, and therefore lay at Gravesend.

[1] Mrs. Wall was the confidential servant of the Duchess of Portsmouth, and a very important person, to judge from this fact, and from a passage in a subsequent letter from Mr. Mountstevens to Mr. Sidney, in which he suggests to him the expediency of his congratulating her upon her appointment to the situation of Laundress, in the room of Mrs. Chiffinch (deceased).

20th. I dined at Mr. Chevens [Chiffinch]. I was at Tilbury Fort, where I found nobody but a corporal and three files of musqueteers.[1] I came on board about three; at eleven, Mr. Smythe and Mr. Chivens went away to Gravesend. At Gravesend there was never a commissioned officer, but an ensign at Tilbury. The corporal laughed, because he commanded.

21st. We ran ashore at the Hope, and stayed there till eight in the morning; then we set sail, and were at Margate a little after twelve; the captain resolved to stay there till seven or eight, because we should be too soon over; at seven we set sail.

22nd. We came upon the coast of Holland about seven in the morning, but there was such a fog, and such a strong south-west wind, that we thought we should be obliged to stay out all night; but it cleared up at twelve, and a pilot came on board us, who brought us to the Brill: at four I took a boat at Mayslandsluys, which brought me to the Hague.

[1] It is amusing to compare this account of things at Tilbury Fort with that given by Evelyn ten years before, and his anticipations of its important effects. 21st March. "I went over to see the new begun fort of Tilbury— a royal work indeede— and such as will one day bridle a great Citty to the purpose, before they are aware."

23rd. The English merchants at Dort came to see me. At noon, I went to see the Prince: I told him of all the King had commanded me: his chief answer was, he desired nothing so much as what was good for the King, without consideration for himself; but I find he is not at all pleased, and is apt to believe that, though we have not fallen in with France already, that we shall do so before it be long. I told him what the King resolved concerning the public; he said he must speak to the Pensioner, to consider what way is best to turn this indifference of the King's, for I told him the King would propose nothing; that any thing they offered he would receive with great joy and satisfaction; but he took no pleasure in being refused, which he was the other day: he is against Sir William Temple's quitting; he told me he knew the reason why the Duke was not kind to Sir William. In the evening I was again with the Prince; we talked of the Duke of Monmouth; he said he thought it not fit to make any excuse, because he did not think there was any fault.[1] He is against

[1] He used him no better than he thought he ought to do one that the King writ such kind letters to; and it is impossible not to do more than ordinary, for he makes the greatest court and application that can be.—*Orig. N.*

Sir William Temple's quitting, and will write to dissuade him as soon as he can; he does not know what to say to the King; when a man is resolved, 'tis to no purpose to give him advice.

24th. Some of the merchants dined with me; Monsieur Lente desired to know what good news I brought. At night I was with the Prince; he told me that he had considered what was best to be said to Monsieur Van Beuninghen and every body else; that the King does not think they care for any alliance with him; that he believes they think themselves strong enough to stand upon their own legs; that if they would make any offer to him, he should accept it with all the joy and satisfaction imaginable, but that he did not love to be perpetually refused: that the King thinks he can live without an alliance as well as they. In the evening I was with Monsr. Zulickem; he told me of a man at Amsterdam who cured the gout, with giving drops. The Prince told me he would write to the Duke of the report that there was of his using the Duke of Monmouth too well; he says he will apply himself more to business than ever when he comes into England, and will declare that he hates the Duchess of Portsmouth.

25th. I heard, by a servant of mine, that the

Duke of Monmouth was gone into England. In the evening I told the Prince of it; he said it was not fair play, considering they were plotting together; he showed me a letter of his to Sir William Temple. I told him of my Lord Shaftesbury being offered to come into the Treasury. He was in a maze.

26th. I was with Monsieur Odike, and met the French ambassador: he told me how he would press for an alliance, which would trouble them extremely, for they had no mind to consent and were afraid to deny; he afterwards sent him another message; he pretends to know all the Prince's mind.

27th. The Prince told me the French did press extremely for an alliance with them; that the Ambassador had sent to him to know if he would be for it; if he would, then he would conclude it done, and take no more care of it; but if he would not, then he must take some other way. He is in pain to know what to do, for he is extremely unwilling to consent, and if he should oppose it, it might prove mightily to his prejudice, and it may be done at last against his will; the King of France will have their resolution before next year, that he may proceed accordingly. They are here so afraid of him, and have so little hopes of assist-

ance from us, that I believe they will have it. If they hear that the Parliament be again prorogued, which they do already suspect, I do not think it will be in the Prince's power to oppose it.

28th. I was with the Pensioner: he told me he would do what he could to hinder the alliance, but he thinks if our affairs do not go better in England, it will not be to be done: he saith the noise is worse than the thing itself; they will say that the King, the Prince, and the King of France, are all joined to ruin the people. On the other side, if he does not oppose France, he will seize upon Orange and his other lands in France, and play him a hundred tricks, as setting up the Duke of Monmouth. He told me how Monsieur Luxembourg wondered at the Duke of Monmouth fighting for the Prince of Orange against his King who would set him up.

Fitzpatrick told me they believed there was no likelihood of an alliance with England, because they talked in such contempt of Kerouel (Le Querouaille), but that Mr. Churchill was very busy.

The French Ambassador is perpetually with Odyke, and I doubt hath corrupted him.

29th. I dined with Fitzpatrick: he told me again how he suspected Odyke; in the evening the Prince sent for me, and told me how the French alliance

was proposed, that the Pensioner thought that it would have less weight than by a memorial; he advised me to send an express into England, and to advise the King to speak high to Monsieur Van Lewin; he thinks the King will be afraid of France, and not do it, and if he will not, he does not know whether he shall oppose it. I do not comprehend the Pensioner's making such haste to propose it.

30th. The Prince dined with me; as we came I asked why the Pensioner made such haste to propose it; he said to show they were not afraid of proposing it, and besides which, he would have given it in a memorial, which would have been stronger and would have a worse effect.

December 1st. I dined with the Prince, and afterwards went a-coursing with him.

2nd. Monsieur Bentem invited me to Sourfliet; I showed the Prince my letters: he hath a mind to send somebody into England, but doth not know who; he thought of Odyke, Bentem, Sir Gabriel Sylvius, and Sas. I told him of Reede.

3rd. I was with Monsieur Rounswinkle;[1] he is in pain how to get money for the paying the contributions due to the French; afterwards I went to Monsieur Campricht; he told me that he be-

[1] Envoy from the Elector of Brandenburgh.

lieved the Swedes and Danes had made an alliance *a l'inscue de la France.* I went a-coursing with the Prince, and then he ate with me.

5th. I wrote to my Lord Sunderland and Nephew Pelham, and went to the French play afterwards. The Prince told me that Monsieur D'Avaux had been with the Pensioner; he wondered to hear that I spoke against it, for he believed that I had no orders for it, nor would have none; he told him how Monsieur Campricht and Monsieur Van Beuninghen and I were consulting together what was best to be done to oppose the alliance. Mr. Carr told me of a great match.

7th. The English officers dined with me and Mr. Sas, who talked to me of the great fortune. In the evening I told the Prince of it; he will give me all the assistance he can. At night my express came back; I showed the letter to the Prince, who was mightily pleased, and told me I should go to the Pensioner to-morrow, and that he would consider what was next to be done.

8th. I was with the Prince in the morning; I told him what I heard of the Duke of Monmouth.

9th. I was with the Pensioner and showed him my letter; he desired an extract of it, which I

sent him. I dined with the Prince and the Prince of Frise; after dinner he showed me the letter he writ to the Duke of York, which he was not satisfied with.

10th. There was a great ball at Monsieur Odyke's. The Duchess of Simmeren and the Princess of Anhault were there; they danced till seven.[1]

11th. I was to see the Princess, and found her very weary.

13th. The States assembled to consider what answer was to be given to the King of France. I asked the Prince what they had done; he told me that it went very well; that it was the King's letter that did it absolutely; without it, he doubts very much that it would not have gone so; he saith that he believes they shall have some very rough message, and he hopes the King will again give me order to speak high, if there be occasion, that is, if the French do; he does not like our affairs in England. I told him of an expedient of mine, which is, for the Prince to desire the King to call the Parliament, for I think it will be necessary for the King to call one; and it will

[1] The Duchess of Simmeren was sister of the Prince of Orange.

have ill consequence for the King to call it upon the petitions that are made. I told him of my Lord Sunderland's letter; he said it was a trick of the Duke of Monmouth's, and that he would write to him about it: after he went to Monsieur Odyke, he told me matters went very well, that they were unanimous against making any alliance with France.[1]

[1] The struggle which now took place between the French and English Ambassador, the one to induce the States to enter into an alliance with France, the other to prevent it, is thus described by Ralph.

"About the middle of November, Mr. Henry Sidney was all of a sudden remanded to his post at the Hague, to which the motions of the Count D'Avaux recalled him; and his very arrival at that place, as we are told even in the Gazette, dispelled all those false reports which had of late been so common there. It is also notorious that the said Monsieur D'Avaux had no sooner renewed his negotiations with the States to enter into a defensive alliance with his Most Christian Majesty, than Mr. Sidney appeared in the most open and avowed manner his opposer, declaring, as the King himself had before done to the Dutch Minister at Whitehall, in plain terms, that his Majesty would look on such a defensive Alliance as a league against him, and, in case it took effect, would be obliged to frame his measures accordingly; and that on the contrary, in case they rejected the proposal, his Majesty would not only punctually comply with what was stipulated and agreed in the defensive treaty of 1678, but also stand by them to the utmost in case they were attacked by France. And we find the States at this time thought themselves so well authorised to depend on these professions, that they rather seemed to deliberate on the offers of France, for form's sake, than with any disposition to

14th. I was at church, and heard Mr. Ken preach.[1]

15th. The English officers dined with me; at night I asked the Prince what I should write into

accept them; and in the mean time gradually prepared Monsieur D'Avaux to expect the like refusal, that at his instance they had before given to those of England.

"Shocked and enraged as the French Court certainly was upon this occasion, they could not persuade themselves to give over the pursuit, or to think that menaces would not succeed, though solicitations had failed. Repeated orders were therefore sent to D'Avaux, to awake their old terrors, which he failed not to obey in a thundering memorial to the States, setting forth that the King his Master was extremely astonished at their manner of proceeding in this matter of the Alliance proposed by him, and that he highly resented it. That he had his Majesty's command to wait yet a few days longer for their final decision on that affair; after which he should mention it no more, nor accept of any act relating to it. That in case they should omit this opportunity, they must expect his Majesty would alter his conduct so as would be most conducive to the good of his kingdom and advantageous to the commerce of his subjects. That his Majesty did not threaten them with his indignation, but they would find perhaps that his dissatisfaction would be more prejudicial to them than the indignation of others, and that they would do well to recollect what had happened to them within these eight or ten years; and that his Majesty had then less reason to be displeased with their deportment than now.

"This was no sooner presented than it was followed by another from Mr. Sidney, filled with artful dissuasives, under

[1] Mr. Ken, afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells, was then private Chaplain to the Princess of Orange.

England — he said that they had resolved unanimously what was to be done, and were gone to consult their principals; but they were under an oath, and could not tell what was resolved on.

the pretence of leaving their Lordships to be guided by their own interests, and at the same time urging that the instances of the French King were rather too pressing for a free Republic. It is not to be presumed that these alternate batteries of words made any further impression than as they were played by the two factions against each other, and on the issue it appeared that the Orange had now the best engineers. For the States of Holland (the Province, not the Republic) at last unanimously resolved to reject the French proposals, and ordered their deputies to declare the same to the States General, from whom Monsieur D'Avaux was to receive his answer in form, and who immediately on this gave out that he should very suddenly be called home. That the King his Master would order all his subjects to quit the service of the States, &c. On the other hand, that these intimidating expressions might not answer the end they were calculated for, a letter from the King of England to the Prince of Orange was read in the General Assembly of the States, not only overflowing with assurances of his Majesty's unalterable resolution to assist the Republic in case of need, but also of his intention to give his Parliament a meeting in April, if their Lordships' interest required it. And these promises, supported with the whole weight and influence of his Highness, wholly turned the scale against the threats of France. Guelderland, Utrecht, and Zealand immediately followed the example of Holland, as did also, soon after, Overyssell, and Groninghen and Friezland adhered to France, after their usual custom. The majority of the Provinces, in the case of a negative, had a right to decide for all. Accordingly, about the middle of March, the Prince of Orange

He said they took notice that what the King said to Monsieur Van Lewen was not so strong as what my Lord Sunderland writ; he is still of opinion that if France speaks high, we must do so too. In the morning Monsieur Rosbone, who is Viscall (Advocate General) to the army, was with me; the Count de Noiall and the Marquis d'Aucourt.

16th. I was with Monsieur Van Beuninghen: he told me he thought I was satisfied with their proceedings, and also he told me that one of their

having first visited the frontier and made the necessary preparations for its defence, in case of an attack, and the States having also made a grand regulation of their finances, a formal answer was prepared in the most courtly expressions that could be used to the several Memorials of Monsieur D'Avaux, importing in effect that the States found themselves obliged to decline the defensive Alliance which his Most Christian Majesty had done them the honour to propose to them. Nor did they fail to return their acknowledgments to his Majesty of England for the many testimonies he had given them of his great kindness to their State, in particular for his repeated assurances of assistance as their occasions should require, and the regard shewn to their interests in his late speech to his Parliament.

"And thus the Public was to understand that a hook was once more put into the nostrils of the French Leviathan, and that the interests of the Court of England and the House of Orange were the same. But how deceitful these appearances on both sides were, the sequel will demonstrate."—Ralph, i. 496.

deputies said that they must never do any thing au prejudice du Roy d'Angleterre et d'Espagne. Mr. Meredith told me that the resolution they had taken was to desire the King of France not to take it ill their not making this alliance with him, because they could not do it without disobliging their Allies.

18th. I dined with the Prince; there was a Prince of the Palatinate, and Monsieur Voorschout, one of the nobles. Monsieur Siegle was with me, and told me how the Pensioner had been with him, and that he was much concerned to have the business accommodated between the Dukes of Luxemburgh and the Elector of Brandenburgh. He says his master's troops are marched towards the Elector. At night I heard of the prorogation of Parliament. The Prince told me he was afraid it would have an ill effect here; that if the French did press again for the Alliance, he was afraid they would be more inclined to it than they were the other day.

19th. I was with the Pensioner, and spoke to him of the Prince Elector's business; he promises me it shall be done; then we talked of the state of our affairs in England; he is much surprised and troubled at the news I told him; he is afraid it

will make an alteration in the minds of people here. I was with Monsieur Campricht; he is also concerned, and believes that the King of France will make these people afraid by assisting the Elector of Cologne to be possessed of Maestrecht and Hasselt, which the States do refuse to evacuate.

20th. I was with the Prince to ask him what I should say; he said that I must continue to tell them that the King will help them as much as he can; he does not know what to think of the business; if it had not been for this business he did not doubt but that every thing would have gone well enough: he wonders the King will not make an alliance with Spain, and send somebody to the Princes of Germany: he showed me a letter from the Duke, which was in answer to what he said to the Duke of Monmouth.

21st. I saw Monsieur Van Beuninghen before he went to Amsterdam; he thinks for this time they shall give such an answer as we shall like, but when France does come to threaten, he does not know what he shall do; he says nobody speaks but he, for the Prince does manage.

22nd. I was with the Princess at prayers.

24th. I dined with the Prince; after dinner Fitzpatrick told me of the project that was pro-

posed to him to get the King £600,000 in one year; it was by a Jew, and an advocate here that will venture to give £1000 bond if it does not succeed. He also told me of another way of improving the King's revenue by £30,000, for which we should have £3000 for ourselves; and then he spoke of getting to be Paymaster of the army in Ireland — he also spoke of one project more of beer and alehouses. I received some letters.

LADY SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

December 16, 1679.

I began in my own mind to blame you, and to think the care I had taken to write every post, except one, had been utterly lost upon you; but yours of the 9th revived me much, which I received just now, and I know scarce any body that I could have patience to write to, except yourself, being sick with the headache and a thousand maladies, which will make my letter very short. I have told my Lord all you bid me, and he will give you an account of it himself; but I shall not trust to that, for he is so very ill of a cold that I fear he may fail you; therefore, I will charge myself with

telling how your dispatches are approved when they are seen, for he received them but to-day. One part which relates to the Parliament I suppose you may answer yourself before this comes to your hands out of the Gazette, where you will find the Parliament prorogued till the 11th November next.

My Lord Hallifax and Essex are once again in very good humour, and will draw again. I leave you to make what reflections you think fit upon it, but sure they don't think things so desperate by their cheerful spirits; but more of this the next. I am not able to write in cipher, but out of it I can tell you I keep still my usual desponding temper; by the next, I believe, I may write you somewhat new. I think the King neglects the Duke of Monmouth enough of all conscience; all his places are disposed of but the Master of the Horse, and that is in commission, and he has no more to do with it than you. I have not heard his name these three days, and, when I did last, it was occasioned by my Lord Huntington and Stanford drinking his health, by which you may judge how considerable he is; he makes great court to Nelly, and is shut up in her closet when the King comes, from which in time he expects

great matters.[1] I can tell you nothing new but that poor Mrs. Crofts lies under grievous mortification, being most shamefully turned out of her lodgings, after having, like a fool, bestowed a great deal of money upon them. My Lord Plymouth is made the author of this rough action, but the Lady at the end of the gallery could not support her being there for fear of dangerous visits; but that which makes it yet more cruel to the poor maid was, that there is not so much as a pretence of any

[1] "Following his Majesty this morning through the gallery, I went, with the few that attended him, into the Duchess of Portsmouth's dressing-room, within her bedchamber, where she was in her morning loose garment, her maids combing her, newly out of her bed, his Majesty and the gallants standing about her; but that which engaged my curiosity was the rich and splendid furniture of this woman's apartment, now twice or thrice pulled down and rebuilt to satisfy her prodigal and expensive pleasures, whilst her Majesty does not exceed some gentlemen's ladies in furniture and accommodation. Here I saw the new fabriq of French tapistry; for design, tenderness of worke, and incomparable imitation of the best paintings, beyond any thing I ever beheld. Some pieces had Versailles, St. Germain's, and other palaces of the French king; with huntings, figures, and landskips, exotiq fowls, and all to the life rarely don. Then, for japan cabinets, screenes, pendule clocks, great vases of wrought plate, tables, stands, chimney furniture, sconces, branches, braseras, &c., all of massive silver, and out of number, besides some of her Majesty's best paintings." — Evelyn's *Mem.* i. 562. Such was the lodging of the lady at the end of the gallery.

body's buying them, for she had got the money of old St. Alban's, and she won't be permitted to buy her pennyworth for a penny. After such a pretty expression, and being come to my fourth page, 'tis time to bid you good-night, and assure you I am unalterably yours,

A. S.

Mr. Godolphin, I believe, will best like your saying nothing to him on that subject, for I dare swear there neither is, nor ever will be, any such thing as his marriage.[1]

LADY SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

December 26.

That you had no letter from me last post was not my fault, but my being sick, and taking phy-

[1] Mr. Godolphin married Mrs. Blagge, one of the Maids of Honour. She died in childbed of her first child. "She died," says Evelyn, "in the 26th yeare of her age, to the inexpressible affliction of her deare husband and all her relations, but of none of the world more than of myselfe, who lost the most excellent and inestimable friend that ever lived. Never was a more virtuous and inviolable friendship—never a more religious, discreet, and admirable creature — beloved of all, admired of all, for all possible perfections of her sex." Godolphin did not marry again.—Evelyn's *Mem.* i. 501.

sick. The same I have done to-day; but I cannot let another post go without writing, though I died for it. In the first place, never say more of those silly things, which I am sure you can't believe yourself, for I can never hear enough, nor often enough, from you. I think I need give you no answer to your last, for ere this you know the prorogation is over till the 11th November; yet it has no other effect but a general dissatisfaction, which, under the circumstances in which we lie, is not like to grow less. As for any alliance with France, be assured that nothing was ever more unlikely than that. I can say no more, but do conjure you speedily to come over, for you are more wanted now than you can imagine, not only for the account of friendship in my particular, but for the main; therefore pray ask leave quickly. But by the next tell me what seven extraordinary good black Dutch coach-horses will cost, for I have a mind to have a set.

Pray keep our friend right with the Prince; he will always deserve it, and, with your assistance, I hope he will be wise and not be undone. If my eyes would let me, I would say more: I am for ever yours.

25th. Monsieur Campricht told me that he had orders to oppose this alliance as much as he could; and I believe he will put in a memorial to that purpose. There dined with me Mr. Ken and Mr. Bowyer. Mr. Fitzpatrick told me of the Jews' proposal to him of giving the King £50,000 if, upon renewing the charter to the East India Company, he will give such men leave to buy actions.

Monsieur Odyke told me of the French Ambassador being with the Prince at his house; that he shewed him a letter from Monsieur Barillon, that saith that the King told him that the reason why he endeavoured to hinder the States from making an alliance with France, was to make France desire one with him. He saith he is preparing a terrible memorial for the meeting of the States; that, for the present, he believes these people may refuse it, but, if they see any likelihood of a war, they will do any thing that is desired of them. Monsieur Barillon writes to Monsieur D'Avaux every week, and gives him an account, almost word for word, of what I write. He hath orders to go again to all the towns, as he did in the business of the Guarantee, but I hear it will not be permitted.

26th. I was with the Prince. He told me of his conversation with Monsieur D'Avaux; of Baril-

lon's letter to him; the straight he was in; how he would consent to the alliance if he considered only his own interest. I wrote to my Lord all this and a great deal more. I wrote about the projects, and for leave. I wrote to my Lady Sunderland and Sir William Temple.

27th. I heard that the French Ambassador had been with Monsieur D'Alva to give in his memorial, but it was too late to have it read that day; at night the Prince gave it to me, and told me I must put one in on Monday.

28th. I was with the Prince, and carried him my memorial. He read it, and said he would show it to the Pensioner; and if there were any faults in it, I should know it in the evening; after supper he gave me the memorial, and another, which I copied myself, because none should know that he did any thing in it.

29th. I went abroad with the Prince at four; he dined at my house. At night I was at Court, and heard that the French Ambassador's memorial was read.

30th. I delivered my memorial to Monsieur Pauland, one of Overissel. I sent my Lord Sunderland's letter to the Prince, who was very well pleased with it.

31st. I was with Mr. Rockwood, who told of the French's taking towns from his Master, that he hath nothing to do with. He thinks that the Duchess of Simmeren hath got the French Ambassador to assist her against the Prince. At night I was at Court. The Prince told me that I must prepare another memorial; that the French Ambassador took exception at that part of the letter that mentions Holland. He advised me to go to the Pensioner, and speak high, and tell him that the King is in better condition than they imagine.

January 1st. I was with the Pensioner; I met the French Ambassador there. After he was gone, I had a good deal of discourse with him; I told him my mind roundly; he did not disapprove of any part of it, he gave me good hopes; he told me that the French Ambassador was very angry with me; I said, I cared as little as any man in England. I went to Monsieur Campricht; he is hearty in the business. I was with Odyke; he advised me to send copies of the memorial into England, and to speak gently in my next memorial; he thought we should do well to press for an alliance. The Pensioner told me the Prince might find his account in it; that he might have millions; and the Ambassador told the Prince that he would

assist him in anything he pretended to in England. I saw the Prince abroad; he told me it would come on to-day; he is unsatisfied with Van Beuninghen for being for disbanding the forces.

2nd. Colonel Fitzpatrick was with me; he told me of a project of his to get twelve ships, of from forty to sixty guns, for the King of Spain's service; he gave me a writing to be signed by the King; he saith the man will undertake that the King shall have three millions at five in the hundred, and that the principal shall die in a year; he thinks of having the Advocate go into England instead of the Projector. In the afternoon I was with the Prince; he told me, with a cheerful countenance, that matters went well, and that the Pensioner had orders to come to me. I writ to my Lord Sunderland, and sent him the paper to-night, and desired leave for Fitzpatrick to go into England.

3rd. I dined with the Prince; the Pensioner was there; he excused his not coming, and will be with me on Monday. I hear from every body that they are resolved not to accept the alliance; they have sent a Courier to their Ambassador at Paris to make the best excuse they can, and to assure him that they ever continue his humble servants.

All the ministers have been with me to-day to congratulate;[1] Monsieur D'Avaux tells every body that his master will revenge it; he is mighty angry. At eight o'clock I received a letter from my Lord Sunderland, by express, to deny what Monsieur Barillon had writ; I acquainted the Prince with it; he told me then how the French were enraged against him; and, with some cause, he said. I had letters from England.

THE COUNTESS OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

December 30.

In my last I told you some reasons why my letters were so short and few to you. I have been

[1] The following extract from a letter from Sidney's agent, Mr. Spencer, shews how highly his services in preventing the alliance between France and Holland were estimated at home.

"January 23rd, —79.

"Most Honoured Sir,

"On Saturday last I received your letter of the 16th and of the 19th instant, which came very luckily to my hands. As you did me honour, so I did you a little service with them among the Country Justices, Sir Thos. Peirce, Mr. Lambard, and others, at Sennock, whither I went immediately after receipt thereof, who took it kindly from me the reading a part of your letters of certaine news, which they were not a little thirsty after. They seemed much satisfied with what you have done, and so is all the world here; drinking your health, and praying for it too, is not enough."—*Orig. M.*

very bad indeed, but am a little better now. I intended this day for writing at large to you, but have been hindered till 'tis now nine o'clock by company, which is not to be avoided, when one's sick, and keeps home, and cannot deny one's self; but till the post goes I'll write all I can think of at least, till they send for my letters. In my last I gave you an answer to what you proposed about *the Parliament*,[1] and you already find that affair is out of doors; but, because despair is the most miserable condition as well as the most wicked, I still endeavour to pull up my spirits; and, whilst the world lasts, will do as well as we can, if it be out of our power to do as we would. In order to this, the next thing that was thought best, was this *severity* against *Papists;* and, indeed, if it holds firm, the consumption may last a little longer; and, during that time, you and we may be *winding* up our *bottom;* which, I am sure, I shall ever be as solicitous for as my own, and desire our interests may never be separated. There's like to be *a change by Secretary Coventry's* resolving *to quit* without *money*, since there's none to be got upon the account of *ill health*. The King has been

[1] The passages in italics are in cipher.

persuaded to *Lord Halifax*, but he desires to be excused, and I believe *Mr. Godolphin* will be the person, upon which you know *there will be a vacancy*, which we do mean to use all the arts imaginable to compass *your* filling; the thing seems hopeful enough, but yet too remote to give me the joy I should have on that occasion. I could not forbear saying so much, though you must never take the least notice, directly or indirectly, *to my Lord*, till *he does to you*, but, I assure you, 'tis much at his heart. The business of the petitions is not gone any further than the first step that noble Lord made you heard of; nor, I hope in God, will not. One thing is passed better than was expected—the new Common Council is chosen on the day it uses every year, St. Thomas, and they are the greatest part, nay, almost all, the same as last year, which is a very lucky thing. The Duchess of Portsmouth has put away all her papist servants, and she and Mrs. Crofte are now made up again, after the great fray you have heard about the lodgings. *The Duchess of Portsmouth* is every day *more of a jade* than ever, but don't understand that I mean as to *France*, for I believe that is quite out *of her head;* but I mean to every body, and in every particular; but I think she is so hampered, *'twill hurt* none *of us*, and so long

'tis best it appears in its true colours. 123 is really a very reasonable good sort of a person, and trust to me till you come over in this matter; you will find you have been mistaken in that particular. If I don't by your next letters hear of your coming over, I shall be very impatient, and you will be much to blame; for Mr. Spencer says your affairs want you extremely. I won't wrong you so much as to think it necessary my telling you I do, therefore pray come quickly. I desire you to lay out £20 for me, in Dutch wax candles, which my Lady Temple says are very good. I would have them four to the pound, three parts, and the fourth part, six to the pound; and some tea, if you love me, for the last you gave was admirable.

I send you verses, which Mr. Hobs, just as he was dying, spoke to and upon the fair person of Lady Mary Cavendish:

Though I am now past ninety, and too old
T'expect preferment in the Court of Cupid,
And many winters make me even so old,
I am become almost all over stupid.
Yet I can love, and find a mistress too,
As fair as can be, and as wise as fair,
And yet not proud; nor any thing will do
To make me of her favour to despair.
To tell you who she is, were very bold;
But if in character yourself you find,

Think not the man a fool, though he be old,
Who loves in body fair a fairer mind.

I suppose you will agree with Mr. Hobs in this his last will and testament.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

Whitehall, January 1-11.

Sir,

The King having read yours of the 5th instant, S. N., commanded me immediately to despatch this express, as well to renew his orders to you to use your utmost endeavours to prevent the making the alliance between France and the States, as to direct you to acquaint the Prince and the Pensioner that you have received his Majesty's command to let them know, that what Monsieur Barillon had written to Monsieur D'Avaux, *viz.* that the King had told him he would oppose the alliance between France and Holland, &c., but that it was only because he would have his master make one with him, is a mere invention of Monsieur Barillon's, to whom his Majesty never said any such thing; but this is no very unusual way of proceeding both with Monsieur Barillon and other French ministers abroad, who care not what they say, so

that it may promote the designs of their master. You must likewise acquaint the Prince and the Pensioner that, as to the apprehensions they have in Holland that the French King will not evacuate Wesel, but may fall upon them immediately, if they should not agree to an alliance with him, the King has directed you to tell them that, in case France should break with the States, by the consideration of the long prorogation of the Parliament, or for any other reason or pretence, that his Majesty will assist them with all his forces, as well as knowing how nearly he is concerned, and how much it is his interest not to suffer those provinces to be invaded; and that the better to enable himself to do it, he will that very moment call the Parliament, how far distant soever it may appear by the prorogation, he having it always in his power to do so; and it is not in the least to be doubted but that the Parliament will be ready to support him on such an occasion. I have, by the King's order, let Monsieur Van Lewin know as much, to whom his Majesty would have told it himself, if the Ambassador had been in a condition of going abroad.

The King will be impatient to hear from you after the receipt hereof, and therefore you may, if

you please, keep this express some days, till you can despatch him to us again with an answer, which we hope will be a good one.

SUNDERLAND.

Sir,—The King gives you leave to come over before the term, supposing his affairs do not require your presence there, which he leaves you to judge of.

THE COUNTESS OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

January 2nd.

By the express that went to you last night, you'd find, I hope, some relief to the desponding temper you were in when you writ to me. My Lord ran about and behaved himself wonderfully, as he gave you an account, and writes again to-night. *Barillon*,[1] I believe, will be ready to hang himself for his lying and odious tricks; *for my Lord is* resolved to *make the King use him like a dog*, and has began it very well, I'll assure you. I suppose what *my Lord* said to the *Dutch Ambassador* from the *King*, will satisfy you and the *Dutchmen* very well. I am certain our friend will leave nothing in his power undone to break this

[1] The passages in italics are in cipher.

business of *France:* and so an end to politicks, for my head aches; but I am in great pain about your colick. Pray take care of yourself, for you cannot do a kinder thing to me, who shall ever be a sincere hearty friend to you, unalterable indeed. You cannot imagine how truly concerned my Lord is to you and for you in every particular. Pray make haste to know it from me, for I want you mightily, and now is the time to wind up the bottom. God send you a merry new year, and that we may pass many together.

4th. I was with the Prince; he told me the French Ambassador said, if he had told him he would not have been for the alliance, he would never have proposed it. The Prince said he did not know he was obliged to tell him all his mind. He says he hath not yet declared himself in the States, that they had not yet refused. Monsieur Sas dined here, and told me the French Ambassador pretended to be well satisfied with what was done.

5th. I went to the Prince: he told me it would be necessary for the King to use Barillon worse than he uses to do; he showed me his letter to my Lord Sunderland. I dispatched the express.

6th. I writ to my Lord Sunderland. At night

I met the Prince; he told me Monsieur D' Avaux had told the Pensioner he never believed the Alliance would be, because Fitzpatrick told him that he had told me so: he is mightily enraged at this business of Barillon's. I supt with the Prince at Madame Opdam's.

7th. Monsieur Campricht was with me; he desired to know their resolution, because they might be in a posture of defence, and that he might give timely notice to the Emperor and the Duke of Lorraine. Monsieur Rounswinkle saith the King of France never desired any thing with that earnestness that he does this alliance; therefore he does imagine he will be mightily provoked to be refused. I spoke to the Prince about Monsieur Campricht; he saith that till next week there can be nothing certainly known. He saith Monsieur D'Avaux is angry with the Pensioner, and hath been to complain of him to the town of Amsterdam for proposing the business so soon. The Pensioner is gone to him, but will say nothing but yes or no, unless he had witnesses. We think the business of Barillon vexes him most.

10th. Monsieur Longas dined with me; he told me the joy there was at Brussels for our affairs going on so well here. I was with the Prince, and

gave him letters from Sir William Temple and Godolphin; he told me he believed Monsieur D'Avaux would speak high, and did not know if the people here would be resolute. I went to Monsieur Van Beuninghen; he presses much the alliance with Spain, and thinks it necessary.

The Prince is much satisfied with the letters that come out of England. He believes that Monsieur D'Avaux will go to the towns, and then I must go too. Sir W. Temple writ about reviving the triple alliance; he thinks Sweden well-disposed towards us; he speaks of a conversation he had with the King, which gave him satisfaction.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

January 9th.

I now send you the paper, signed and sealed by the King as you desire, and leave you to make the use of it which will be best for us all;[1] but how to get leave for the gentleman you mention in your letter to come over, I cannot imagine; for he knows the answer was sent to him by order of Counsell.

[1] The King's letter to the Prince of Orange, which, according to Ralph, produced so great an effect.

You will see by my other letter what an honest gentleman Monsieur de Barillon is, who has given the lie to himself, or to Monsieur D'Avaux, or to both; and though he has denied it so formally to the Ministers here—I mean the foreign—he intimates as if the thing were true—"Mais il ne faut rien contester avec les Rois;" and by that he endeavours to continue the jealousies still; but I think the King has declared himself so as to leave little doubt of the sincerity of his intentions; and, besides, I am sure he never said any such thing. You are mightily commended, and I am ten times more pleased than I can be for any thing that is said of me. I am in a post that, I know, as things are now, I cannot be liked above a day, which makes me mind very little what is said, so long as I do my duty to the King.

I am entirely yours.

THE COUNTESS OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

January 8th.

I cannot forbear writing to let you know that your memorials and all you do is found most excellent and approved of by all persons. What a satisfaction 'tis to me to have you succeed so well,

I cannot express; all I can say towards it is, that if my Lord Spencer were what you are, and behaved himself as well, I could not be more joyed; nor did I ever see my Lord so glad of any thing; and truly it must be a near concern to rejoice his heart, for he never was so desponding as now: but to give you an account of the last fine pranks of *the French Ambassador*[1] upon your letter *of what he had writ of the King* into *Holland*, it has been all pursued with great warmth, and the King has hitherto done just as he should; but truly I fear there will be some scurvy patching, for the *Duchess of Portsmouth is so d—d a Jade*,[2] that for my part I think it is but a folly to *hope;* for *she* will certainly *sell us* whenever she can for £500, and so God bless you in all your proceedings!

The more you write my Lord word that he will

[1] The passages in Italics are in cipher.

[2] "We are, however, much indebted to the memory of Barbara, Duchess of Cleveland, Louisa Duchess of Portsmouth, and Mrs. Eleanor Gwyn. We owe a tribute of gratitude to the Mays, the Killegrews, the Chiffinches, and the Grammonts. They played a serviceable part in ridding the kingdom of its bespotted loyalty. They saved our forefathers from the star-chamber and the high commission court; they laboured in their vocation against standing armies and corruption; they pressed forward the great ultimate security of English freedom, the expulsion of the house of Stuart."—Hallam's *Constit. Hist.* 217.

be ruined if he engages in the business of France, the better; not that he is at all inclined to it, but I know any thing of warning from you does him good.

11th. I was with the Prince; he told me their Ambassador had two audiences—the first was only to say what himself and Monsieur Colbert had said before. In the second, he told them he found they had no inclination to accept the Alliance that was proposed to them, that he would not threaten as others did, but he would send to his Ambassador to ask it once more, and to desire an answer in ten days. They are angry, but say nothing. He told me the Ambassador would put in a memorial, and I must put in another, that if he visits the towns, I must do so too. Odyke advises me to go to the States first, because I am sent to them. I told the Prince that Monsieur D'Avaux denied that he showed any letter from Barillon; he said he had two witnesses, which were the Pensioner and Odyke. He told me he suspected some of the nobles to be of the French faction; he hopes to come to the question on Tuesday; he thinks it will be hard work; he will hinder them, if he can, from putting off the debate. Monsieur de Heeke, of

Guilderland, the first of the Committee for foreign affairs, told me that Monsieur D'Avaux denied the having showed Barillon's letter.

13th. I was with the Prince in the morning; he told me it was fit for me to go to the towns, and also to the deputies of the States-general, which I did. In the evening I showed the Prince my memorial, and left it with him to correct: he does not think they will come to a resolution, which will be the worse for us. I told him Barillon denied writing any such thing. The French Ambassador hath desired twice to speak with the Pensioner, to make the Prince new offers, and so endeavour to gain him; his answer was, that the business is now out of his hands.

13th. I presented my memorial, and invited some of the nobles. At night I writ to my Lord Sunderland and my Lady; afterwards I went to Court, and inquired what was done, but they would not tell me, because they were under an oath; but I found plainly that it was well for us. Mr. Bentem told me that I should know to-morrow, because it would be carried to the States-general.

14th. Monsieur Rounswinckle was with me; he spoke as if the business was done. In the afternoon Monsieur Campricht came to me from Mon-

sieur Van Beuninghen, and told him that they had taken the resolution, and that to-day there was a resumption, which is ever, in these cases, to make it the stronger;[1] after that they had separated.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

Whitehall, January 13th, 1679-80.

Sir,

The express I sent you on New Year's Day returned last Saturday night, with yours of the 5-15th, which being read next day before the King at the Committee of Intelligence, his Majesty bid me tell you that he is very well satisfied with the success your negotiation will, in all appearance, have; and that he does entirely approve of all your proceedings in it, as having done what you ought in pursuance of the orders he sent you.

[1] So did their forefathers, the ancient Germans, though in their case the first council was held over their cups. "De reconciliandis invicem inimicis, et jungendis affinitatibus, et asciscendis principibus, de pace denique ac bello, plerumque in conviviis consultant: tanquam nullo magis tempore aut ad simplices cogitationes pateat animus, aut ad magnas incalescat. Gens non astuta, nec callida, aperit ad hoc secreta pectoris licentia loci: ergo detecta et nuda omnium mens postera die retractatur, et salva utriusque temporis ratio est.—*Tacitus de Mor. Ger.*

This day Sir Gilbert Gerrard, accompanied with several others, presented the Westminster petition for the sitting of Parliament to the King, saying it was from thousands of his Majesty's subjects in Westminster and places adjacent. The King answered that he took himself for the head of the government, and the only judge of what was fit to be done in such cases, and that he should do what he thought best for the good of himself and his people; telling Sir Gilbert, likewise, he did not expect to find a Gerrard in such a thing, and particularly him; that he was sorry for it. Whereupon Sir Gilbert would have said something to the King, but he would not hear him. The principal persons that accompanied Sir Gilbert were Desborough, Ireton, Charlton, Wilson, and Crisp, the two first of which were the sons or other near relations of the Regicides.

The King intended to have writ to the Prince this post, but the Counsel sate very late, which hindered him. In the mean time, pray assure his Highness the King considers his interest as his own.

Yours most humbly,

SUNDERLAND.

THE COUNTESS OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

January 13th.

I may return you most truly the same expressions you made me in your last of the 15th by the Express, that every line or rather word in your letter gave me abundant satisfaction, for sincerely kind I am to you — I care not who knows it; and being so, I pass my time very well, I assure you; for your praise is up to a great height, your health drank with great ceremony in the City, and every body that's good for any thing talks of you as of their guardian angel almost.

It would make you ample amends for all the pains taken, the reputation you have gained—I will not say any thing to persuade you of my joy for it. You are the unjustest creature in the world if you are not sure of it; but I can't forbear telling you, that when your Memorials were read at Counsel, every body was so satisfied with your behaviour, that at night, when my Lord came home, he was so full of it, he really wept for joy; and in talking of you to some of our friends, who told him the City were much pleased with him in this affair, he cried out loud, "Let them but know how poor Harry Sidney has behaved himself; I don't care a pin for myself."

I think I ought to let you know this in justice to you both; and indeed 'tis a great comfort to me to see him so truly kind to you, because I think you are both in your kinds fit to be friends to one another and the best men in the world. Now, for goodness sake, don't laugh at my silly stuff, for 'tis from the abundance of my heart. But now as to another point which nearly concerns us. You must know the [1]*Duchess of Portsmouth and my Lord* have had a great, or rather many *quarrels about this* matter, for when *you first sent word* of the fine *letter of Barillon*, that abominable *Jade* would have *had the King* see *Barillon privately*; and she directed him what to say, upon which our friend behaved himself like a nightingale, as you perceive; but for which, I am sure, she will never forgive him; and, therefore, my dear Mr. Sidney, by all the ways you can, endeavour to engage him in what may *be irreconcilable with that Jade*, that would sell all, and does daily grow *so odious*, that being *in any of her affairs* were enough *to ruin one*. I could give you a thousand instances of this, but 'tis not necessary, you being enough of my mind in this matter.

Don't be peevish at my writing all this silly

[1] The passages in italic are in cipher.

stuff in cipher, for I had rather, if I knew any State affairs, venture their being seen than my own concerns; neither be angry if I have mistaken any figure. I wish you here every minute, but not if you are necessary where you are. Pray God bless and succeed all your undertakings, for I'm confident you'll never be engaged in any that are not honest.

I must needs say one silly thing more, and then I have done. My Lord Spenser is in town, and the prettiest boy in all kinds in it. Pray take care of *Fitz Patrick*, for I hear *they* are not exactly to be depended upon; not that I know it of my own knowledge, but the contrary. They were born in the States, with the repute that I have heard of them.

MR. GILBERT SPENCER TO MR. SIDNEY.

January 7th, 79.

Most Honoured Sir,

Yesterday was the fortunate day of your trial with my Lord of Leicester, which proved as well as we could wish, and in many circumstances better than we did hope for. In short, after a full hearing of their witnesses, having before heard me

on your part, the Jury gave a verdict at the bar without stirring out of court, which is for the honour of your cause in its clearness; all the judges apprehending the truth of the thing immediately, and were clearly for you in it. My old acquaintance was not wanting to serve you.

The two points they chiefly insisted upon and designed were, my Lord's answer, which they thought my vote and testimony would not agree with; and the other was the taking off of my evidence. In the first, they were in a very ignorant mistake, for, on the reading of the answer through, and the bill to which that was an answer, it was very plain it referred to the time when the leases were made; and so the judges presently understood it. And then, sir, I cannot omit to let you know what provision your adversaries had made to take me off from giving evidence, which was that I had £20 annuity out of the rents in the fields, which, you may remember, I was afraid of from the beginning, and took care to prevent. The person to prove that was Robin Turner, that knave, who, having once heard me acknowledge my Lord and master's favour, went and told Watkins. This needs no great proof, for as soon as I was asked I owned it, but withall told the court I had released it. This

startled your foes very much. I showed the release, and it was allowed. After a great deal of more wrangling, the Judge Scroggs summed up the evidence as a plain case on your side, and so the Jury found it, and gave a verdict which made my little heart leap. Mr. Foulkes has taken a great deal of care and pains in this business. We are not idle, but driving on while the iron is hot. This was one of the happiest days I ever saw. I protest I flatter not.

My Lord Lisle was in court, but not Lord Leicester. Mr. Foulkes and I sent your brother Algernon a breviat, and he sent it to one of his lawyers. I was glad he did not appear. One that was formerly a butler to the Earl of Leycester was a witness for him; but what he said served only to fling dirt in his Lord's face.

There was a little gentlewoman, a governess, and Miss, whose mark is out of her mouth, was there, and said something to little purpose, rather to serve than hurt you, as it was ordered; I know not how it was intended. I am so full of joy that I hope you will give me pardon for the length of my letter. Mr. Guy tells me I shall have order to-morrow for £450 for a quarter, which, when I have secured, I mean to spend two or three quiet days at Penshurst, and then to London again.

Though your brother Algernon would not concern himself, but was long in churlish humour—I hear he laughed when he heard how the cause went—and I believe your brother Leicester will not have so good an opinion of his own law as he used to have—'tis thought he will be in a great rage at the verdict. I am sure, if he had had it from him, he would never have let you had a quiet day, nor a penny legacy; but now I hope he may be made wiser, and you happier, whether he will or no; and that you may be so, nothing shall be wanting in the duty of, most honoured sir,

Your most affectionate, faithful,

And obedient servant,

G. SPENCER.

THE DOWAGER COUNTESS OF SUNDERLAND

TO MR. SIDNEY.

January 6th.

You may see by my writing that I am not so unreasonable as to expect you should write to me oftener than you do. When I hear Tom Pelham brag of your letters, I grumble a little in my mind. I will not congratulate you on your success in Westminster Hall; I have always declared I would not be glad which way soever it did go;

though now it were wise to make you some compliment, for I shall never see any other brother again, I believe.

You must needs hear of the abominable disorders amongst us, calling all the women whores and the men rogues in the playhouses — throwing candles and links—calling my Lord Sunderland traitor, but in good company; the Duke, rascal; and all ended in "God bless his Highness, the Duke of Monmouth. We will be for him against all the world." I am told they may be fined a great deal if they are prosecuted. Two of these are knights of shires, Sir Scroope How, and my Lord Wharton's eldest son; the only sufferer yet is Porter. They are ashamed, I hear, and afraid.

I hope the four counsellors who left the King in so formal a way of ostentation will have no great ill effects. My Lord Radnor says he did not come in with them, and he will not go out with them. I cannot slight it, because many more people go against reason than with it. The town says my Lord Halifax is retired too; he is at Rufford a month sooner than he intended; but I hope he will come again, though he does not stay. I am sure he had resolved to be at Rufford all this spring and summer, four or five months ago.

What news soever is sent you out of Southampton Square, I will venture a wager is not true of the public; for our private affairs there, I have had a hard task. My sister does suspect that there are some there who have no mind Lucy should be so well married as to Mr. Pierpoint, and I am confident she is in the right, and not to lie, and to keep her from thinking me of her opinion, needs a great wariness, which I have had. Between you and I there is dissembling amongst them. Good Sir John is none of them—but I believe no block can be laid to hinder the marriage. The gentleman proceeds so fairly. He has given his particulars; £200 a year in land, and £5000 more in money, both certain after his aunt's death, who is threescore years old, and has a quarten ague; by whom I believe more will come. To be her heir is something, but if I were 40 years younger than I am, I would not care to be yours.

My brother Pelham requires other particulars than he has yet; he thinks that he has given them too generally, which Mr. Pierpoint has sent to his bailiff for. An estate in that family will never be found less than they say. One finds fault that he does not talk, that is better than what they say sometimes; another finds fault with his person,

who have little reason, God knows, to meddle with that. I tell them I am not to be bribed; but if any will bring a better, I will quit his party. I have been a little peevish to them, so I shall hear no more; but she is so wise as to find no fault—the worst of him is his complexion, and the small-pox is not out of his face yet; he had them but eight months ago.

I have met my Lady Harvey twice in Mr. Harvey's sad corner, though she does not care to have her there, for she cannot forbear comedy; the last subject was her daughter Lacker thinking her husband handsome. She says, three heads and ten noses could not be uglier than he is. The beauty of one of your sex will be quite spoilt if my Lord Grey does not hinder it. My Lord Shrewsbury has so great a blemish on one eye, that 'tis offensive to look upon it. My Lord Leycester is as unconcerned as if he had lost but a crême from his table. My Lord Lysle the contrary; he has seven or eight or a dozen at dinner with him every day. My Lady Harvey says, to hear him and you talk 'tis a wonder you should disagree in anything. As to the other brother,[1] she wonders nobody shoots him.

[1] Algernon Sidney.

The Duchess coming puts every body in abominable humour. My Lord Grey was so good-natured as to carry his wife far from her beloved; he has gone into Sussex, where the Duke of Monmouth is to hunt. The new secretary you will hear of; I know not what he has given. All the town has made my son treasurer but the King, though there is no more probability of any than when you were here, neither has he the desire so much as I have that you should love me as well as you can, who do you more than you care for.

D. SUNDERLAND.

I had a letter just now from Lord Halifax. I find he will not be soon here, but is far from making any meritorious cause of it.

MR. SPENCER TO MR. SIDNEY.

London, January 10.

Most Honoured Sir,

As bad news comes not too late, so good news cannot be sent too soon or too often; wherefore, lest mine of the last post miscarry, I thought it my part to tell you in this that you had the good day on Thursday last; the business was so clear on your side, and the cause so good and conscientious,

hat, as soon as I had given in my evidence, all the judges stood up for you, and the jury gave a verdict at the bar for you without stirring, though Lord Leycester's councel thought to suppress my evidence upon my annuity, but I had released that —this was what they relied on most, and to make my Lord's answer and my oath disagree, and to prove me a knave, but, thank God! I had a better character from the judges and all the court and the jury. We are now continuing to bring on your business for the further and quicker despatch in Chancery. I dare assure you, sir, you need not be afraid of that cruel tyrant, who may shew his teeth but cannot bite. I hear he storms and swears like mad; calls me a hundred rogues, which I am glad to hear, because it is for discharging a good conscience and securing you. He is so hampered now that he knows not where to be.

I have received yours of the 9th, and will enquire for Palma wine, but doubt 'tis not a good time for that, but will get you a pure Canary if you please to signify your will in it; however, I will adventure to send a hamper by the first ship. This night Sir John Pelham intends to send for the horse, and it will be Saturday ere it can be here. The groom has been to enquire after him and the

dogs. Your friends here, and they are many, rejoice at your good success in this affair; not so my Lord of Leycester, and in the country my poor wife writes that all are startled, some are glad, and some are afraid; let them tremble still, whilst I with a thousand more rejoice at your prosperity.

I am, Sir,

Your most obliged, most faithful,

Most humble servant,

G. SPENCER.

MR. HARBORD TO MR. SIDNEY.

January 11, 79.

Sir,

Being just now at Mr. Foulkes's chambers, and meeting Mr. Spencer there, I had the good fortune to see yours to the former, with whom I have in your absence frequently consulted whether I might be useful to you in your absence; and as he will tell you we did agree that in one point I might do you a good turn, and I have undertaken it, and will do it most faithfully. The particulars I will give you an account of when I see you.

We all have rejoiced at your good fortune, and admire your conduct, and I assure you no one

wishes you more good than myself. You will have so much a better account how matters go here from other hands, that I will not trouble you with so silly an opinion of affairs as mine. However, I wish every man in his station would prefer the cause of the public before his own advantage; and that, how different soever men's opinions may be, that might be each man's standard. If the French King renew the ratification, I hope his conquests may be bounded, though not his ambition; and to have had a hand in it is a blessing, which Mr. Sidney's work gives him. If I may by any means prove serviceable to you, pray command me, for

I am your most faithful servant,

W. HARBORD.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

January 12.

I have received the letters you writ to me by your servant, of January 7th, which do not exactly suit with the present affairs, for the difficulty is not what is to be done after *the King should declare he would pass the bill*,[1] but how to persuade him to pass it, which I believe he never will do; and that

[1] The passages in italics are in cipher.

being so, *if some expedient* might be found to which the *Prince would agree*, we shall be all happy, but *they are so averse* to everything but the bill, it must be some extraordinary means that can make them be *contented with less than that. These means* I think can only be found in the Prince's coming, and in the manner we have formerly thought of, all which Sir W. Temple hath writ at large.

The prorogation every body will write to you about; if they can tell you what will follow, they know more than I do.—I am for ever yours.

16th. Monsieur Van Beuninghen was with me. He desired me to write to the King to have a care of Italy and Germany, as well as he hath had of Holland.

18th. The Prince dined with me, and told me it would have been impossible for him to have opposed the Alliance, unless the King had appeared, as he had done; and that nobody durst have done it, for the people would have pulled them in pieces, if any ill accident had happened.

19th. I carried the Prince a letter which pleased him extremely. I dined with the neighbourhood, where there were above a hundred people at dinner.

21st. Monsieur Campricht and Monsieur Huneken dined with me; at night I was with the Prince, he told me that he had read the King's letter at the Committee of Intelligence, and that it was much liked.

26th. I received letters out of England for the Prince. I carried them to him; he saw plainly that the Parliament would be prorogued but to April, which he was very glad of.[1]

27th. Mr. Ellis, my Lord of Ossory's secretary, dined with me; he told me how slow they were in his Lord's affairs, and he thought he would be fain to quit. The Prince sent for me, and desired me to write again to Lord Sunderland about making

[1] "The King," says James, "doubted not by this short prorogation, and having the Parliament always at a call, that he should keep France from invading Holland, and Holland from joining with France, which otherwise that people's aversion to war would have forced the States to consent to. He resolved, therefore, he said, to keep such a countenance in the matter as to persuade the world that the difference between him and his Parliament was not irreconcileable, that he durst meet them, and by that means keep his neighbours so well composed, that in reality he should not need to meet them at all, which was certainly the properest medium in this conjuncture, and what he most desired: for, in the bottom, the King never intended they should then meet to do business, unless the exigency of his foreign allyances forced him to it."—*Life of James II.*, i., 586.

alliances with Spain and Germany, and that he would write to the King. I writ to Sir William Temple.

28th. Mr. Rockwood dined with me. He told me that Mr. Freeman had a mind to come to me, and I gave him all the encouragement I could; he told me of Mynheer Alvin that would be of use to me. At night the Prince told me that Monsieur D'Avaux had sent his equerry into Friesland, to his aunts, and to the Prince, to endeavour to make the alliance with the states of Holland.

29th. Monsieur Van Beuninghen came to me to tell me that it was more necessary to have an alliance with Spain than ever; that nothing else would hinder the King of France from making war in some parts of Europe this summer; and that if he did, he would certainly make himself master of a great part of it; therefore we must, if we can, keep him from making war: that we are not to be afraid of speaking high, for we might be sure he would not attack us; and it was to no purpose to think of keeping fair with him, for he would never forgive it.

30th. I received letters out of England, and being not well I sent them to the Prince. In the afternoon he came to see me, and told me how he

approved of what the King had done, and desired me to write earnestly for the alliance with Spain. I writ to my Lord Sunderland, Mr. Harbord, and Spencer.

THE COUNTESS OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

January 23.

I hope you will receive an everlasting reward for all the trouble and pains you take in a good cause, and that it will succeed to your heart's desire. I cannot but lament at the signs I see of your being kept longer from this poor closet, where I wish you very often in a day, and hope I am not mistaken in thinking my mind and yours agree in that particular.

We are every day between hopes and fears, but the last commonly crown the day. The King, God be praised, is better than ever I have seen him since his sickness; he dined here yesterday, and was in the best humour possible. This day the Common Council sits upon the petition; what the event will be I know not, but you'll hear, I suppose, from his honour. We hope well. Several counties of England have rejected and declared against it as a tumultuous thing. Nay, in Somer-

setshire they have gone so far as to set forth remonstrances against such seditious proceedings, but here is the business that crowns the day. Just now I have an account of what the Common Council has done, namely, that the petition was rejected by 15 voices, though my Lord Mayor played the devil. 'Tis the best news we could hope for. If the City be quiet, I think there is no great danger, and I hope in God, that time will bring people to their wits again.[1] I assure you we are all very pert upon this unexpected good success. I pray God send we may make a good use of all these reprieves. It may seem very impertinent my writing all this, which you will certainly hear from better hands, and more impertinent my commenting upon it, but I love to impart my thoughts to my friend, and you, I hope, will ever be in the first rank.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

January 23.

Sir,

The news the King has writ to the Prince, I hope, will so absolutely put an end to all the busi-

[1] "In short, says Ralph, the whole nation was divided into Petitioner and Abhorrer, and almost every day produced some

ness you have in Holland, that I hope we may soon see you here. I refer you to his letter, and will only tell you, that Sir W. Temple knows not a word of any thing, but when it is in the Gazette. Nor any body of this resolution of the King's, but Mr. Hide, Mr. Godolphin, and myself.

I am, &c.

THE DOWAGER COUNTESS OF SUNDERLAND

TO MR. SIDNEY.

January 23d.

Sir,

A thousand kind thanks to dear Mr. Sidney for his letter, and his other words which I sent to my Lord Halifax, who is still with Sir William Coventry in the country. Nobody can be more glad than I am of the great good work upon the public account, and for the particular good to you than I am.

I have spent two days of this week already with poor Mrs. Harvey; she is not willing to have any body else come to her. Once my Lady Harvey

mortifying instance that the gross of the people had no sentiment of their own, but only played over the tricks that had been taught them by their leaders."—Ralph, i., 494.

broke in upon her, but to me she gave leave; she is as much afflicted as is possible. She will not endure to hear his will, nor of it; but Sir John Cook has told her she must, it could not be executed from others. I hear he has given a great deal in present to his relations, which was well done, for she will have ten times more than she will know what to do with.

I suppose now the most factious people will not say the Dutch have agreed with France and broke with us; within these two days Tom Pelham and Montague believed it, so as to make me angry. They, instead of improving by Sir William Jones, will be quite spoiled; there is not a lie out of any mutinous shop in town but they believe it.

I think I have almost ended our marriage treaty before my brother Pelham comes. I have sent for him, but our poor sister has had low fits of a tertian ague; how far I have gone I will tell you; in short, I had leave to offer £7000 upon the marriage rather than have broke it. I believe £8000 would have been given, but I had order to get one thousand not to be paid till my brother dies, so I have done it for the portion. The jointure was left to me. I demanded £1000 a year and his London house, and I have got it; I will make her

thank me for the house, for her father would have never thought of it for her; but a very pretty house so furnished as that will be very considerable to a woman. Henry Savile has told me all that is to be in it. Six coach horses are buying. My Lady Halifax is to choose the coach that she is to have apart, and his equipage will be two footmen and a page for herself.

Now I have told the good show, I must come to the ill one. His person is ugly: last night he came to me with his sister; he is well enough drest and behaved, of very few words. As soon as my brother comes to town he will carry him the particulars of his estate, which I believe is not stretched. My Lady Halifax says she had rather say less than more; the fortune is good no doubt, and she will do better than many who have double. I desired her to tell me if she had any distaste to him, and I would order it so that it should not go on, and her father should not be angry with her, but she is wiser than to refuse it. He is not more ill-favoured than Montague, and his wife kisses him all day, and calls him her pretty dear.

I am very sorry I shall not see you as soon as I did hope, but your stay will be to so good purpose, that it will be a consolation to your friends

that want you. Yesterday the rich Thyn brought a petition to the King, he said from the county of Wiltshire. The King asked him if it came from the Sessions? No. If from the Grand Jury? No. Then his Majesty told him he did not take it from the county. There was Sir Walter St. Johns and Sir Robert Hungerford with him; but the petitions fell flat to what was expected. There are now but two days for them to come. What will be done at the meeting of Parliament I know not.

I am yours, with a true affection,

D. S.

MR. MOUNTSTEVENS TO MR. SIDNEY.

Whitehall, January 23d, 1679.

Honoured Sir,

His Majesty has thought fit to remove Mr. Hayter from the employment of Secretary to the Admiralty to that of Comtroller of the Navy, void upon my Lord Brunkard's quitting it, and has appointed Mr. Brisbane to be Hater's successor in the Admiralty.

The Earl of Clarendon is made Treasurer to the Queen, in the room of Mr. Harvey, who died yesterday morning.

The King has commanded my Lord Herbert to

deliver up his commission in the Duke's regiment; and, upon his Lordship's desiring to know the reason of it, and particularly whether his zeal in promoting the petition for calling a Parliament had not been the occasion of His Majesty's displeasure, the King told him in answer, that amongst a great many others that was one.

The King has commanded that the Commission of the Peace be taken from my Lord Grey, brother to the Lord Chief Justice North, who was one of the Lords that some time since presented the King with a petition for calling the Parliament. I am also told that the Commission of the Peace is likewise taken from all who would not understand, or which is all one, would not obey His Majesty's Proclamation, prohibiting tumultuous and seditious Petitions, to which several counties in England have had great regard, as is evident by the inclosed Gazette.

Upon Friday Mr. Gadbury[1] was sent for and

[1] The great astrologer of those days. In a cotemporary Journal kept by a Dr. Taswell, in the possession of Mr. Elliott, to whom I am obliged for this and other references, there is the following curious account of a party, who, in the year 1681, went to consult the oracle: "He (Sir Edward Deering) desired me to meet him at a tavern, where being arrived, there were present besides, Bernard, Doctor of Physic, and his brother, a surgeon, esteemed the most skilful in his way,

examined before Councill, where he affirmed that Mrs. Collier[1] had often told him that she did not

and John Gadbury. This man calculated my nativity, according to the strict rules of astrology, and gave me it into my hand. I received it, not with a confidence that what he wrote were true. If you go upon certainty, says I, only foretel to me two or three events, which, if they should happen, would infallibly render me a proselyte of yours: but, if otherwise, I shall expect you to desert so vain and empty a pursuit. After consulting each other, Deering and Gadbury came to me, and told me, that they themselves would give no credit to their profession if these three circumstances they were going to relate did not actually come to pass.

"1st. That Charles II., after the burial of Queen Katherine, would have a son of another wife, who should be born after his death.

"That Louis XIV. would dye in 1682.

"That the Earl of Shaftesbury, who at that time favoured the rebellion, would be beheaded.

"So much for astrology, since the greatest champions for it never could judge with certainty concerning future contingencies, and I always esteemed astrology among those curious arts whose advocates, after they were converted from it by the Apostles, came and burnt their books in the presence of the multitude; and it is evident from the Epiphany that this study was prohibited by the Apostles: therefore, returning to college, I could not be easy till I had thrown the account of my nativity in the fire. Deering foretold happy times to me from 36 until 48 years of my age, when he said I should have a bastard. In this interval I spent my time unhappily and inglorious. With regard to my having a bastard, the 48 years passed by me when I had never lain with any other woman but my own wife."

[1] "A popish midwife, who had a great share of wit, and was abandoned to lewdness."—Burnet, ii. 234.

question but in a little time she should see Westminster Abbey become a convent of Benedictines, and the Temple stockt with Fryars. He likewise affirmed that Mrs. Collier had desired him to cast the King's nativity, when His Majesty was sick the last summer at Windsor; and that, upon his refusing to meddle in a matter of such consequence, she parted very much dissatisfied, telling him she would inform herself elsewhere.

Mr. Oates and Mr. Bedlow, two of the King's evidences, have given particulars to the Council against the Lord Chief Justice Scroggs. One of them I am told is, that his Lordship is frequently drunk with prohibited wines, which you will imagine a very notorious crime, since it is a sin against God, King, and Parliament. I shall endeavour to furnish you with a copy of the Articles by the next, and always to behave myself as one who is most absolutely

Yours.

This day the Court of Aldermen and Common Council met at Guildhall, where it was moved that a petition might be presented to His Majesty for calling a Parliament, but it was carried in the negative by six voices; there being 101 against the petition, 96 for it.

January 31st. I was with Monsieur Van Beuninghen. He told me that he had been with the French Ambassador; that his proposition is, that they should let his Master make war in Italy, and do every thing else he hath a mind to, provided that he engaged not to meddle with the Low Countries. He repents that he did not speak in time to him, and would give one of his fingers that he had not begun this business. He told me, that he had rather (though it was not fit to be said) the King of France should attack the Low Countries than Italy. Mr. Rockwood and Freeman dined with me: I find the last horribly unsatisfied with the King, a friend to the Prince, and ready to do him any service, a great enemy to the Duke. I was with Monsieur Belmont. He told me that I had done more good than all my predecessors before me.

February 1st. I dined with the Prince, who told me he was every day more and more for the alliance with Spain. He is glad that Fitzpatrick is going there. Monsieur Rounswinckle told me that Monsieur Staatman was to come, and would lie at Monsieur Campricht's. He saith that they have not accepted their bills for the contribution, that is, for the Duchy of Cleves, 200,000 crowns, and

therefore they must give ready money, and then we shall see what the French would do.

2d. Monsieur Campricht and Monsieur Straatman[1] came to see me. The last made me great compliments upon our success here; he tells me he is going to Ratisbon, that the French endeavour to destroy the Diet, and that Monsieur Rebenac is with the Elector of Brandenburgh for that purpose, who is already inclined to it. I was with the Prince in the evening, who told me that Groninguen had declared for the Alliance, and that it was only in compliment to him.

3d. I danced at Court, where the Prince came. Monsieur Le Rhingrave and Monsieur Schomberg saluted the Prince.

4th. I went to see them. At night I carried the Prince a letter from my Lord Sunderland; upon which he fell into discourse of affairs. He asked my opinion who he should send into England; we pitched upon Sir Gabriel Sylvius; he thinks Mr. Godolphin does go too fast, he thinks him quicker than Mr. Hide, and Sir William Temple far beyond them all. I told him how Monsieur Schomberg was afraid of coming to me,

[1] He had been one of the ambassadors from the Emperor, at the treaty of Nimeguen.

because of the French Ambassador; Mr. Rookwood was with me, and told me a very ridiculous story of him.

5th. Monsieur Le Rhingrave dined with me; he talked of Monsieur D'Avaux, and said he would give Madame an account of his proceedings. I told the Prince the story, and proposed Sir William Temple's going Ambassador into Spain. He told me Monsieur Heugh was come, and that he had good inclinations, that he had nothing to propose, but that he would hear any thing that was proposed to him. Monsieur Schomberg supt with me.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

February 3d.

I have writ to the Prince what I think concerning the Alliances he desires should be made, but to you I will say nothing of that. The King is entirely convinced that he must pursue the interest of Holland, as he has begun; that it is necessary to his affairs at home as well as abroad, and he intends to tell the Duke so, as soon as he comes, which will be in six or seven days, and I hope he will concur with his Majesty, and those who are of this opinion; but, to make it the easier, I think

it would be very well if the Prince would write to him at his return as kindly as possible, and express his satisfaction upon the marks he and the States have received of the King's concern for them, and of the advantages his Majesty and his Royal Highness may find in their friendship, which never can be expected from France, whose interest can never be to have the King great, he being the only Prince in the world that can obstruct their designs. All that can be said of this sort will be very useful, therefore pray persuade the Prince to it, and as soon as may be. Mr. Hyde, Mr. Godolphin, and I, have talked of all these matters so fully to the King, that I can assure you he is never to be changed, but every thing will be much easier if the Duke is of the same mind.

You cannot imagine the pains I take in this business, and yet I am called a traitor and a Frenchman every day, but I care very little for that if I can do any good.

I am yours entirely,

SUNDERLAND.

February 6th. Colonel Fitzpatrick was with me to take his leave. Monsieur Campricht was with me. He tells me that the Emperor begins to arm;

that the Elector of Brandenburgh is cross, and complains of his being ill used, and will not join his forces any more for the good of the empire. He hopes that the King will prevail upon him. Monsieur Huneken told me there was certainly an alliance between France and Denmark; he heard it from Bremen. I went afterwards to see Monsieur Heugh; he seems not to have any orders to make any alliance with France. I was with the Prince, and found him in a very ill humour upon the Lords quitting. He thinks it will have a very ill effect here.[1]

[1] "In this time the Lord Russel, Lord Cavendish, Sir H. Capel, and Mr. Powle, distasted at the late prorogation, as well as at the manner of it; and, pretending to despair of being able to serve the King any longer, in a conduct of affairs so disagreeable to the general humour of the people, went to the King together, and desired his Majesty to excuse their attendance any more upon him at Council, which the King very easily consented to. Lord Salisbury, Lord Essex, and Lord Halifax, seemed to have taken the same resolution, though not in so much form; upon which I thought it might be a great prejudice to his Majesty's affairs to be left by so many at once; and that, if I wholly gave over at the same time, it would look like entering into a faction with persons who were only displeased with the present scene upon hopes of entering soon upon another, which was no part of my thoughts or designs; therefore I resolved to go again to Council, to show I had not herded with those that had left it, and that my leaving

THE DOWAGER COUNTESS OF SUNDERLAND

TO MR SIDNEY.

January 30th.

I write without expecting or desiring a return from a man of your importance at this time, but in some way I hope to hear soon what effect our prorogation has where you are. I hope they did no more expect the sitting of the Parliament than we did here, and then it will make no change, which every good body does wish now 'tis so well. Those who have pretended most to desire what you have so happily succeeded in are sorry for it, because 'tis for the good of the King and kingdom, and done without them.

Though I am no great courtier, I have almost fallen out with some of their unseasonable factiousness and particular maliciousness to my son; with these Tom Pelham is, but you shall never hear it. He expects too much from you, and is as interested a young man as any is, or else he would not be such a slave to his father-in-law's

it too might not occasion some men's greater distastes at the Government."—Temple's *Works*, ii. 524.

Burnet says, that, so far from readily consenting to their resignation, Charles "was so highly offended, that he became more sullen and intractable than he had ever been before."—ii. 239.

humours.[1] His sisters and his brother-in-law tell me 'tis insufferable. I have made no complaint of him, but I have been a little sharp with him myself, and 'tis very well past over; they are abominably fooled by their neighbours.

I see one thing very plain that is very ill—they are not pleased with Lucy's marriage; I hope my sister will not find it out, she shall not know it by me. She and my brother are very well pleased with me, and so is she too, but she behaves herself very well. I told you in my last how far I had gone. My brother came to town last night on my summons. I believe he will find no difficulty, and the estate rather better than I represented it. Her brother tells me she needs no persuasions to it, though his person is not taking, but 'tis like to do very well; he is very bashful, and to strangers backward to speak. He was alone with me, and I found his sense very good. I would not let him go to her, till her father came to town. I was told by a very understanding person, that those

[1] The Thomas Pelham here alluded to, the son of Sir John Pelham and Lucy Sidney, married, for his first wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir W. Jones, Attorney-General to Charles II. His second wife was Grace, daughter of Gilbert, Earl of Clare, sister to John Hollis, Duke of Newcastle.

who know him well say he is a very honest, worthy gentleman—that was the expression.

My Lord Halifax is gone to Rufford, liking the country air very well. My Lady says she wishes he would send for them, and not come for so short a time; as to that, he has said a good while he would go. Poor Mrs. Harvey does not mend her humour at all, she is wilful to such a degree as nobody ever was. The town says that the Countess de Soissons has been here, and gone upon the French Ambassador telling her the King's declaration, that if any accused for poisoning in France did come hither, he would send them to the King of France. That is true, but I know not if her having been here is so. I heard it but last night, and have seen nobody since.

The Duke of Monmouth has so little employment in state affairs, that he has been at leisure to send two fine ladies out of town. My Lord Grey has carried his wife into Northumberland, and my Lady Wentworth's ill eyes did find cause, as she thought, to carry her daughter into the country in so much haste that it makes a great noise, and was done sure in some great passion. My Lord Grey was long in believing the Duke of Monmouth an unfaithful friend to him. He gave her but one

night's time to take leave, pack up, and be gone. Some say he is gone to improve his interests in the north.

In Kent they had put my son Smith into your jury; he would have got out of it, but Spencer did it; he would not have been in for £2000. They that put him in did not know that he had any relation to you.

The news of the Duke's coming, by the declaration the King has put into the Gazette, is thought a little extraordinary by some. I wish you here with all my heart, for your own sake; and, because I believe I shall never see any other brother again, the more charity it is in you to be a little kind to

Yours most affectionately,

D. S.

THE DUKE OF YORK TO MR. SIDNEY.

Edinburgh, February 3.

I received some days since yours of the 26th of the last month, in which you gave me an account how affairs stood where you are. I hope they will go as they should, and I am very confident his Majesty will do always what becomes him. At the distance I am from London, I can say little: I hope to be there very soon, expecting every mo-

ment the Yachts, which his Majesty has sent to fetch me, and then I shall be able to say more; all things here are very quiet, and like to continue so; I wish they were so where I am going,[1] and I hope and make no doubt they will, now they see his Majesty will be so steady in his resolutions.

I have not time to say any more now.

JAMES.

When you write, do it without ceremony.

THE KING OF DENMARK TO KING CHARLES II.

Fevrier 4e.

Monsieur Mon Frère,

J'ay vu par la lettre que vous m'avez écrite le 27e du Mois passé, et le rapport du Sieur Lindenau

[1] The Duke of York, as is allowed by Burnet, had made himself extremely popular upon first going to Holland, by his gentle, just, and moderate government, and, upon leaving Edinburgh, he assured the Lords of the Privy Council that, though his joy was great to go to the King, yet he could not part with them without a sensible trouble and real reluctancy, having met with such demonstrations of civility and kindness from all ranks and orders, particularly the Council, as must ever endear them to him, and make him bear a most grateful memory of their favours * * * that he would acquaint his Majesty that he had in Scotland a brave and loyal nobility and gentry, a regular and wise Privy Council, and the Judicatures filled with learned and upright persons, and that the disaffected party was not so considerable as those in England represented them.—Burnet, ii. 292. *Life of James II.* i. 587.

Monsieur Envoyé Extraordinaire auprès de vous, les ouvertures que Votre Majesté a jugé àpropos de me faire a l'occasion des présentes conjunctures, et de ce qui est nouvellement passé à la Haye touchant l'alliance que le Roy très Chrétien y a proposée. On ne peut assez louer les soins que Votre Majesté prend pour la conservation de la tranquillité publique, qui par son entremise vient d'estre restablie dans l'Europe, et come de ma part je n'en souhaite pas avec moins de passion la continuation, je seray toujours prest d'y contribuer tout ce qui dependra de moy, et d'agir de concert avec Vostre Majesté pour une chose si salutaire, mais particulièrement de vous faire connoitre le desir que j'ay d'entretenir toujours avec vous une bonne intelligence pour l'intéret et le bien commun de nos etats, et de vous temoigner en toutes rencontres l'amitié sincere avec laquelle je suis

Votre bon Frère,

CHRISTIAN.

February 8th. I dined with the Prince, and had some talk with him: he thinks our affairs in England will spoil all. He talked of going into Flanders. At night I had some discourse with Monsieur Schomberg. I find him mightily dis-

satisfied with France; he would willingly quit, if any thing could be done for him in this country.

9th. The Swedish President dined with me; he gives me to understand that he is much our friend, and is gone into Sweden about an Alliance. Monsieur Schomberg and I were in the Wood, talking of the same matter. Sir Gabriel Sylvius was talking with me about his journey; he will observe my directions. I told the Prince of Monsieur Schomberg's design; he seemed to approve well of it, but he says his father and Mr. Waldeck will never agree. We are to talk further of it.

10th. There was one Graham, who told me he knew the designs the King of France had upon England; that he distributed every year three millions; that he knows who it is given to; and if the King gives him orders, he will discover it. He hath been a Colonel in this country; his wife is Scotch. The Prince sent to speak with me about Sir Gabriel Sylvius and the French making an Alliance with the Princes of Brunswick. I writ to my Lord Sunderland, Mr. Godolphin, Lady Sunderland, and Sir William Temple.

11th. Monsieur Belmont, Sylvius, and Monsieur Rounswinkle, told me the French were to march out of Wesel to-day, and that they would not be

hindered from going through the country of Meuse. In the afternoon, Monsieur Rookwood was with me; he told me of a conversation he had had with Monsieur D'Avaux, about three weeks ago; he told him he would be glad to be acquainted with Mr. Freeman, for he heard he was honeste homme, that he was a commonwealth man, and, saith he, we are very great friends to that party. He answered that he could speak no French, and therefore he would have little satisfaction in his company; he said he heard he was an able man, and that he had done the State some good service when the Parliament sate, and that he desired by all means to see him when he went next into England—this was told to Freeman. "Hang him," saith he. "I will have nothing to do with him."

SIR HENRY CAPEL[1] TO MR. SIDNEY.

February 7th.

Sir,

I received the kind favour of yours with great

[1] Henry Capel was the second son of Arthur, first Lord Capel, who was beheaded by the Republicans after the siege of Colchester, and brother of Arthur, first Earl of Essex. "On the accession of Charles II., the zeal he had manifested in support of the Crown, and the services of his family in the Royal cause, entitled him to the favour of the restored Sove-

satisfaction, as nothing that comes from you shall ever find other from me.

I have now sent you the estimates of the four

reign. He was honoured with the Order of the Bath, appointed a Privy Councillor, and in 1679 placed at the head of the Admiralty, at the same time that his brother, the Earl of Essex, was raised to the office of the first Lord of the Treasury. He was a distinguished Speaker in the House of Commons, and a zealous supporter no less of the rights of the people than of the just prerogatives of the Crown." He seconded the motion of Lord Russel, for the Bill to exclude the Duke of York from the throne.

" The unfortunate fate of his brother, the Earl of Essex, did not damp his courage, for he continued to oppose the arbitrary measures of the two last sovereigns of the Stuart race, till the revolution opened a new era more consonant to his character and principles. He was one of the most zealous adherents of the Prince of Orange, and his attachment to him was rewarded with the office of a Privy Councillor, a seat at the Board of Treasury, and in 1692 with the honours of a Peerage, with the title of Baron Capel of Tewkesbury." In 1695 he was made Lord Deputy of Ireland, where, according to the Duke of Shrewsbury, " he was liked and beloved by all parties."— Coxe's *Shrewsbury Correspondence*, p. 58. Lord Dartmouth gives a very different character of him. He says, " Lord Capel was a very weak, formal, conceited man; had no other merit than being a violent party man, which he knew so well that he had no thought but for promoting what he called the Whig interest, in a country where there was no distinction but that of Protestant and Papist;" and adds, " I arrived at Dublin the night he died. If Lord Capel ever aimed at being popular, he succeeded very ill, for the whole town seemed mad with joy. He made a very ridiculous dis-

first rates of ships, calculated by as able an hand as any in the Navy.

Sir, before this comes to your hands, I doubt not but your news-letter may have told you of my having resigned my place in the Council, and consequently my employment in the same. It is possible I may be under the hard censure of many, but, to obtain a favourable construction from the Prince, I honestly ask your assistance.

Be pleased to assure his Highness of my loyalty on all occasions to serve the King; but, since the practice in affairs has been contrary to the measures declared, when first I had the honour to sit there,

position of the Government of Ireland, a little before his death; which the Parliament which was then assembled would not submit to, but ordered the Lord Chancellor to take the administration till the King's pleasure was known."—Note to Burnet's *History*, iv. 278.

Against this apparently prejudiced view of Lord Capel's character it is fair to set the words of an Address from the Irish Commons.

"We must ever acknowledge to your Majesty the great benefit we do and our posterity shall receive by those inestimable laws given us by your Majesty in this Session of Parliament, held under your Majesty's Deputy and our excellent Governor, Lord Capel; whereby not only our religious and legal rights are confirmed to us, but this your Majesty's kingdom of Ireland is firmly secured to the Imperial Crown of England." He died at Dublin Castle, on the 26th of May, in 1696.

and that the dark hopes of a Parliament sitting makes men under my circumstances to lend little support to the Government. I thought it most modest, with those fellow Commissioners who came in together, humbly to beg leave to retire. In short, I preserve the same principles as when last we parted, and 'tis neither honour nor profit can make me desert them.

To be in a station where exercised, they prove ill-timed, and if forborne, a reproach to my honour and conscience suits not with my temper. Pardon this long scribble from him who truly is

Yours for ever,

HEN. CAPEL.

MR. GODOLPHIN TO MR. SIDNEY.

February 3rd, 1680.

I am very glad to be able to tell you that your quarter is paid, and I take it to be no small proof of my zeal to serve you, considering how hard it is with us; but you are such an Englishman, that one makes one's-self popular by soliciting for you, so that the merit is quite taken from me on that account. My Lord Sunderland will write to you of many things that I will not trouble you with.

I will only tell you that, in my opinion, such a letter as he desires the Prince should write to the Duke, to meet him at his arrival here, may be of great good effect; therefore, pray farther it; the King is very firm, and I don't doubt but he will continue so.

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE TO MR. SIDNEY.

February 6th.

I had yours of the date with this about two days since, with one enclosed from the Prince, which I defer to answer for some reasons till next post. I have, however, communicated it to my Lord Sunderland, Mr. Hyde, and Mr. Godolphin, whom I found together the night I received it. They all seemed to think that it would in time come to measures with Spain; but that it could not go the pace his Highness desires. I am afraid their heads are too full to think so deep as he does of this affair, and wish our business will bear much thinking at all, for I never yet knew the time. If they cannot afford it, I know not who else can to any purpose, for they are certainly all the ministry that is among us, and I see nobody else that has any more mind to be in it than perhaps they have that anybody should.

My Lord Halifax is stolen down from Sir William Coventry's to Rufford, and none of his friends pretend to know whether he will come up any more. You hear a change is made in the Council, which happened while I was at Sheen. The enclosed will give you, I suppose, an account of it from one that is mightily concerned in the Prince's opinion upon it, and a great deal in yours. I doubt whether you will make your court well in allowing it here, for my Lord Sunderland rails at him, beyond all the rest of the four; and, indeed, I think against all the rest of mankind. And yet, I do verily believe, he meant no worse to the King in what he did, but could not break company so easily as you know others do. And the rest of them it seems were resolved upon it, with some others who shrank, ever since the King's speech to the Houses; and nothing could persuade them into the truth and sincereness of your business in Holland, because they thought it of so different a piece with all the rest. 'Tis to no purpose to tell you particulars, and perhaps the less you know the better; and if you knew nothing beyond instructions, 'twere not the worst. I had written you a long letter from Sheen, by Bridges, when he was to go away by frigate this day se'nnight; but when

that failed, I sent to him to burn it. All his business is to dispose of my plate, which I doubt is all I am ever like to get of six thousand pounds the King owed me before he gave me this in part.

The Duke is expected as soon as the winds will give him leave, for they say he has left the thoughts of coming by land, and they are very weary of Scotland; and, as I fear, with reason.

I am ever and truly yours.

February 16th. I went to the Prince; he shewed me Sir W. Temple's letter; he spoke of Sir Lionel Jenkins; he hath no great opinion of him.

18th. Monsieur Siegle was with me; he told me he did not believe his Master would make an alliance with France. Mr. Kennedy was with me in the afternoon, and told me that there were three pretenders to the Government of Flanders—the Prince of Newburg, the Prince of Parma, and le Marquis de los Balbaces. The first was likely to have it. The Duke de Montalto is to be Gouverneur des Armes, which is an office that hath not lately been; he commanded all the military affairs. The Secretary hath great power given him, which makes people think that they intend to have a

stronger army. Their money comes very slowly. The King hath spent ten millions on the Queen's entry. The troops begin now to be well paid in Flanders; that province pays two millions; Brabant, 1,200,000 livres. The Lunenburg Resident is waiting for orders to go into England. His name is Babiere; a man of good parts. He told me how Madame de Soissons[1] was used in the street and in the church—Monsieur Lessac with her, and that she is going into England. Monsieur de Villa Hermosa hated by everybody.

I was afterwards with Monsieur Van Beuninghen; I found him vext at the Duke's coming. He told me that the Nobles did not put off their hats when they spoke, but that the towns did.

[1] Olympia Mancini, niece of Cardinal Mazarin, and mother of Prince Eugene. She was compromised by the declarations of the famous poisoner La Voisin. Exiled from France, she went to Brussels, and afterwards to Spain, where, according to St. Simon (whose bad word, however, is no scandal,) she poisoned the Queen of Spain.

"Rien n'est pire," says Mademoiselle de Sevigné, "en verité, que d'être en prison, si ce n'est d'être comme cette diablesse de Voisin, qui est, à l'heure que je vous parle, brulée à petit feu à la Grève. On assure qu'on à fermé le portes de Namur et d'Anvers, et de plusieurs Villes de Flanders à Mademoiselle la Comtesse, disant: 'Nous ne voulons point de ces Empoisonneurs.' It does not appear that she ever went to England."—Sevigné, *Lett.* v. 328.

He was speaking of the great offers that had been made the Prince, the sovereignty of the Duchy of Limburg, and mountains of gold, besides assisting him in any thing he desires in this country or in England. The Prince asked him what he would do if he did accept of any of these offers. He said he would sell what he had here, and go to Constantinople.

19th. I was with Monsieur Rounswinkle. He told me how poor the French have left this country. Monsieur Campricht is of opinion that the French will attack some State of Europe this year; but where it will fall is the question. He told me they apprehend the attack at Newport and Ostend to cut off the communication with us. I spoke with the Prince; he told me the ill condition he should be in, if the Pensioner should die. He thinks the Pensioner at Harlem the fittest man to succeed him.

20th. Monsieur Sas was with me, and told me that he thought my business as well as done; that he had told the Prince so, and he was very glad of it. He hath a mind to be sent to Regensburgh. He has a project for the Emperor to keep 15,000 men; the English, the States, and the Spaniards, as many; he hath a mind to be sent to the Diet.

I writ to Spencer for a steward. At night I gave letters to the Prince from Lord Sunderland and Godolphin.

21st. Monsieur d'Alvin and I walked together; afterwards Monsieur Sas came to me, and told me the conversation that he had with the Lady. At night I had a long conversation with the Prince; he shewed me my Lord Sunderland and Mr. Hide's letters, which showed that the Duke was not satisfied with the Prince. He told me that he was mighty angry with the Province of Friesland; that they had given their resolution for the Alliance, with an expedient that the French Ambassador hath spoke of, that is, that they should engage not to assist France, though it should be attacked by England. Van Haren is no friend of the Prince's. Mynheer d'Alvin told the Prince he would be against it, and then laboured all he could for it.

THE DOWAGER LADY SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

February 19th, 1679.

Your kind letter does so delight me, I would fain say something that would be the portrait of my heart, but I am so dull. Though my Lord Halifax has sent for his family, I hope he will

come up himself before every body disperses. He can be without them here, but not very well there, because company comes to him. Nan Savile hath no regret but to be at her cousin's wedding. I think all is agreed upon now. The articles were signed yesterday, and the gentleman had leave to wait upon his mistress. My brother is gone home, and the writings are to be drawn. The marriage must be at Holland.[1] In some respects, I am sorry for it. My sister had a great mind to come, and I should have been glad to have seen her. My brother thought it would be more expense, and not handsome, because of his great relations: I believe he did consider this the more. Mr. Algernon never goes to them, though they have sought him, so that I have wondered at it often. All the women went to see him; the married Pelham and the two sisters, and the men did; but he has used them so abominably, they are ashamed of it, though he did before the treaty of this marriage: they would some of them lay it upon that. I told them if anybody would bring a better, I would change my party. I had no bribe, but I saw some thought this too good. For my part, I think neither of them well married, but this is a good deal better

[1] The ancient seat of the Pelhams in Sussex.

than Montague, though she calls him her pretty dear, and kisses him a thousand times in a day. I tell Lucy she shall not do so, her's will be much such a pretty dear.

Nan Savile is very comical about this business; sometimes they are great friends and very familiar. Mr. Pierpoint has promised her, that if he is so happy as to have Mrs. Pelham, and that she is willing, they shall come to Rufford this summer. This is an article of marriage that has given great satisfaction.

The thing has been done that I did not much approve of, but I said nothing. Mr. Pierpoint readily did consent to it, but I thought it so little a thing for them to ask, which is, that if she dies and leaves no child, the £2000 to be paid at her father's death shall not be paid, or returned again if it be. This was a foresight of Tom Pelham's.

For our friends at court, my Lord Sunderland is as well as anybody; how long, God knows! as long as it does, I must tell you nobody has a truer friend at court than you have of him. Hyde and Godolphin, his supporters, are never from him, with her at Little Ombre.[1] The players have been disturbed again by drunken people's jokes. They

[1] The Duchess of Portsmouth.

called my Lord Arran a rogue; and one Fitzpatrick pointed at Mr. Thinne, and called him that petitioning fool, and swore a hundred oaths; he said that he deserved £20,000 a-year, but that fool deserved nothing.

My Lady Scroope writes to me, that Mr. Saville is sometimes a very impertinent minister; he is more than ever with her, in what he writ hitherto. She is in as ill hands as can be for her. They are treacherous creatures. I wish a good speedy end of your embassy, and that you were a simple gentleman in my chamber again. My Lady Lisle has another boy; the two grandfathers and the Duchess of Albermarle did christen it. Our brother made her Grace stay above two hours for him, and she had not many more to stay in town. I am yours, with a very true affection,

D. S.

THE COUNTESS OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

February 20th.

It has been no unkindness or any thing you can dislike that has occasioned my not writing as often as I used to do, but indeed I have not been well. I have had a fit of an ague, and been perpetually

ill; but yet I think I could have overcome it had not my mind been much out of tone. I thank God both are much better, and that which gave me the trouble I had was the public, which, I hope in God, is in a more hopeful condition than it has been a great while; and I can now assure you, to the great joy of my heart, that our friend is most entirely out of a possibility of being wheedled any more, and he and the two commissioners have all the hopes possible. The King is the rightest one can wish him to be, and will espouse all you or any honest man can desire for the good of Christendom, which is ruined if this alliance does not go on. You know I am not very apt to hope; desponding is more my temper; but surely I was never so pert these four years. How long this will last I can't tell till 777 has been here some time; though they all tell me I need not fear, they shall be too hard for him. If that prove so, I hope in God we may see a little comfort again.

We are in daily expectation of the Duke. The storms have been so great, that the yacht came not to Scotland till Saturday last, and he meant to go abroad on Monday, but the wind has been so contrary, that 'tis believed he did not. You shall now be sure to hear from me every post, and as sure

you may be I will ever follow all your advice, and never leave employing all my skill to keep our friend steady to that which can only render him a happy man, and make us all so; indeed he needs no pressing in this case, and you will find he is a sure honest Englishman. Don't think me very impertinent for writing all this. I think you like it, and that's a great temptation to me, for I am more sincerely yours than you can imagine. God send us a happy meeting.

MR. MOUNTSTEVENS TO MR. SIDNEY.

Whitehall, February 20th.

Honoured Sir,

By letters from Edinburgh of the 14th instant, we have an account that the yachts which were ordered to attend their Royal Highnesses arrived this morning, and that they intended to go on board on Monday, which is the last advice we have from thence. My Lord Huntington, who was one of the humble petitioners for a Parliament, is dismist from being Custos Rotulorum for Warwickshire, and the Earl of Denby is to succeed him.

Upon last Tuesday died here my Lord Hollis, and the same day, or a day after, died Sir W. Ra-

nisford, some time since Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench. My Lord Bodmyn and Mr. Warwick, his Majesty's Minister for Denmark and Sweden, will go hence about the middle of next week. Upon Sunday the Court is to be in mourning for the death of the Princess Elizabeth, sister to Prince Rupert. This day the Common Council of the City of London met, and only debated particular affairs of the city, without so much as touching upon any thing else, notwithstanding a confident report we have had of late, that they intended at this assembly to revive the petition for calling a Parliament.

The person of whom you and I have had some discourse heretofore bids me assure you that you are as well as you can desire where you wish to be so, and likewise that she will be always ready to embrace whatever occasion may offer for your service.

I am, with all possible respect,

Yours.

February 23rd. I was with the Prince in the evening; he told me that the Duke of Zell had already made an alliance with the King of France, but bid me not speak of it. He told me the King of France would certainly desire the alliance again

when he is at the head of his army at Valenciennes, which I must let them know in England. I think he will do something in Flanders, but he thinks not, unless he can divide us and the States.

25th. Monsieur Barry dined with me, and gave me a memorial, wherein he mentions a person that hath found out the longitude. I went to Madame Somerdykes, where I found the French Ambassador, and we were great friends.

26th. I began to drink the new tea. I was with the Prince in the evening. I asked him why the resolution did not pass; he said it would to-day or to-morrow. He supt with me at night with some ladies. Monsieur Hoste was with me, to assure me that his master was not taking measures with France, but that he endeavoured all he could to maintain the peace of Europe.

28th. I went into mourning for the Princess Elizabeth. The English officers dined with me. I received letters from England.

SIR GABRIEL SYLVIUS TO MR. SIDNEY.

De Londre, 24me de Fevrier.

Je ne me suis pas donné l'honneur, Monsieur, de vous écrire depuis mon arrivée ici, à cause

que j'etois assuré que my Lord Sunderlandt vous donnoit connoissance tous les ordinaires des progrés que nous faissions auprès du Roy. My Lord Sunderlandt, par son addresse et industrie, a mis les choses à présent dans la perfection, et le Roy a fait de point en point tout ce que Monsieur Le Prince auroit pu souhaiter. Je crois que ce que je leur ay dit sur les affaires y a un pu contribué, leur ayant remontré le succès que vous aviez eu, vous apprenant que le Roy et les Ministres et généralement tout le monde est extraordinairement satisfait de votre conduite.

My Lord Sunderlant m'a dit aujourdhui que de Roy m'avoit nommé pour m'énvoyer au Prince de Luxembourg. Et que luy et Monsieur Godolphin avoient écrit aujourdhui a Monsieur Le Prince esperant qu'il l'approuveroit, ne doutant point que cela ne fit un très bon effet auprès de Messrs. les Etats, lors qu'ils verront que Sa Majesté employe une personne qui est au service de Monsieur Le Prince. Si Son Altesse ne vous en parle pas, je vous prie de ne luy rien dire, n'y même à personne, car la chose est encore icy secrette et personne n'en sait rien, et elle ne sera pas divulguée jusques a ce que le Roy l'aye declarée au Conseil.

Je croy que vous savez par d'autres voyes l'arrivée

de Monsieur Le Duc, qui a produit beaucoup de bruit de canon et des cloches lesquelles sonnent éncores à présent: tout le monde en général a temoigné assez de joye de son venue, et plus même que je n'avois crue. La Poste va partir et je n'ay que ce moment pour vous assurer que personne n'est plus veritablement votre très humble et très affectioné serviteur,

GABRIEL SYLVIUS.

THE COUNTESS DOWAGER OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

February 27.

That you should be so good as to write when you have a great deal of business, and not well, to the poor old dolt in the corner is thankfully received.

Our marriage is all fully agreed; and now our good-natured sister and Lucy, who has some of her easiness from a good cause, with a few compliments, forgets what they have done.

You know in some play it is, "Now you are King, who says you are not?" All is as well as can be. They shall not be put in mind of their thoughts by me. He will be a great deal richer than he has given in as sure to him. He has sent down the writings to my brother Pelham yester-

day, drawn by Sir W. Jones's directions; to whom I hear our two loving brothers here are willing to refer their whole business. My Lord Sunderland and I say that our Ambassador will not refuse peace: who has ever been more inclined to it than either of them! God send it, I say.

I have but little time, and am not well. I must not forget my business which is for Mr. Pierpoint; he has in Holland some pictures, of considerable value he thinks them, and he says they are prohibited goods; most of them are popish pictures, but not a crucifix amongst them. If you can, without inconvenience to yourself, get them over for him, you will do him a great favour, and I will let you know where they are as soon as I hear from you. There is no change of any thing yet that I hear of since his Royal Highness came. There shall never be any in me to you. I will ever love you, and soon tell you so again.

THE COUNTESS OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

February 27.

I hope you will be very well satisfied with us all here; I assure you they deserve it, for your friend does wonders; and the King and Duke are as right

as it is possible, and we are less splenetick than we have been this many a day. God continue it! and, what is more hopeful, the *Duchess of Portsmouth*[1] does not meddle in this affair, and will be governed well enough, though *she* were more a *jade* than *she is*, which I think can hardly be. Having said so much, which you may rely on, from knowing that I am not of an humour to hope upon slight grounds, I shall now proceed to what Mr. Gilbert Spencer recommended to me in your concerns, which will ever be most sincerely mine. A thing called a steward he says you want, and truly they are a sort of cattle hard enough to be found good at present. I know of none, but there is a man who did serve my father, and since served the Duke of Monmouth in place of clerk of the kitchen, and who is now discharged from the place, but upon no dislike, and sent into Holland to buy horses for him. Durville is his name, and, indeed, I think he may be a tolerable servant to you; honest he was, and had many good qualities when he lived with my father, if he has not been since spoiled. He will take any pains. However, you may talk to him about it. I am for ever yours. My head aches, and I can say no more.

[1] The passages in italics are in cipher.

March 1st. Monsieur Fuen-Mayor and Monsieur Campricht were with me; they are much concerned that the resolution is not taken. I would have spoke with the Pensioner, but he was not in town. Monsieur Huniken came to me, and told me he had been with Mousieur D'Avaux; that he said most of the towns in North Holland, Amsterdam, and Overissel were for the alliance, but that they were forced to the contrary. At night I asked Mr. Odyke why the resolution did not pass, he said because the Pensioner was out of town.

3rd. I was with the Pensioner; he made me many excuses for not coming to me. He told me the reason why the resolution did not pass was, because he would have been glad to have had it unanimous, but, seeing that could not be, he would endeavour to have it pass to-day or to-morrow; that he would speak to Monsieur Werkendam, who was President, and to the other Provinces that were for it; he told me the reason why the two Provinces of Friesland and Groningen were against the Prince was, because they had heretofore the whole disposal of the places in the government, which they sold, that the Prince hath made some alteration in it. He saith the people begin to be

more inclined to the Prince, because they see he does them no hurt, and all the good he can; he says there is no stopping the mouths of people, for in a free state they will talk. We then spoke of the alliance with Spain and the Emperor; he said there were thoughts once to send Monsieur Straatman, but, upon consideration that it would make a great noise and give offence to France, it was thought better to send powers to Monsieur Bourgamenero. He told me that Monsieur Siegle was with him this morning, to assure him that his master had made no alliance with France. He told me of the letter the King of Denmark had writ to my master, that their Ambassadors sent word the Court of France was extremely unsatisfied with England, that they would be more unsatisfied if it were possible with the Prince for passing the resolution; that it was thought the King of France would draw the body of his army out of Flanders to Soissons.

From thence I went to the Count de Flodorp. He told me that we had come too late to the Duke du Cell's court, that he had already made a defensive alliance with France, that he did not wonder at it for all the Court was French, the Duchess was a French woman, and forte adroit, and had received a

present from the King of France of a diamond pair of pendants of 60,000 crowns, that there was a French Minister that was habile homme, the Captain of the Guard French. That when he was a-hunting he spoke to him of the public affairs, that he said he would do nothing to the prejudice of this State. That he was mightily unsatisfied with the measures that were taken in the Empire; he spoke as if all would be eaten up, but that he should be the last; he saith 'tis necessary to send one quietly, and that he will give instructions to Sir Gabriel Sylvius that would be of use to him. He told me that the Duke of Hanover had also been pressed by the French for an alliance, but he excused it, desiring to keep himself free; that he was mightily in our interest, and was very powerful, for he had 3,000 men, or four, and in war can have sixteen. He mentioned the marriage between my lady and their son; they seemed to hearken to it, that they would send for him out of France, and send him into England. He saith that one of the chief things all our Ministers are to do is to conserve a good correspondence between the Elector of Brandenburgh and the Duke of Luxembourg: he advises the King to send some horses and dogs to the Duke of Luxembourg.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

March the 1st.

My Lord Bodmin and Sir Robert Southwell having orders to communicate all their instructions to you and the Prince, I need not say any thing to you concerning either of them, but that you are to give them all the information you can of what has been done and what is intended by the States. The Duke falls into all our measures so much beyond what we could expect, both at home and abroad, that I will venture to say the King's affairs are in a better condition than they have been these seven years. For we apprehended only that he would have disordered them, but we find quite the contrary. Take this upon my word, for I do positively affirm it to you. I must needs tell you that I have laboured more than ever you saw me, and that the King is entirely convinced that he can never have any good from France. If you had heard all he said to the Duke upon this subject, you would be amazed, but extremely satisfied. The chief difficulties in the Duke's mind were, that the Prince desired to enter into a new war; that the Parliament might sit, though never so much to the hazard of the Government or any thing else; and

that his Highness took all his measures from Sir William Temple, who he looks upon as a Republican, and who the King likewise is unsatisfied with. But the care that has been taken has set all these things right.

I desire the Prince will never write any thing hither about our affairs, but only of those abroad, unless it is to Mr. Hyde, Mr. Godolphin, or me, for it can do no good, and has sometimes done the contrary. Let him but write kindly and submissively to the King and the Duke; that he depends upon them, that they may dispose of him; that he desires peace, and that, if the King slackens towards the States, they must throw themselves into the power of France, where they shall always be received with joy, and I'll undertake the business will go well. I doubt not but these things pursued abroad, and the like measures observed at home, will in a little time give so much satisfaction to the world, that, if the King should be forced to a war, he must have all the assistance from his people he can desire. Do not think that, when I change provinces, I shall have less mind or less opportunity to pursue these things. Pray be a little kind to Mr. Pooley, who desires very much to improve himself.—I am entirely yours.

This is most of it the same letter I had writ last post.

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE TO MR. SIDNEY.

March 2d.

I am mightily sorry to hear that you have any illness fallen upon your eyes, which was an affliction I met with in my employments abroad, and so am the more sensible of it upon your occasion. You must spare them from reading and writing whilst it lasts, and by no means tamper with them. I never found any thing do mine so much good as putting a leaf of tobacco into each nostril as soon as you wake, and keep it for an hour either sitting up in your bed or dressing yourself. It will make you a little sick, perhaps, at first, but, when it does, pull it out, and 'tis presently past; then you may put new in, and 'twill grow easier with custom. You should not be cold when you use it.

Sir Robert Southwell may be with you as soon as this, having resolved to embark this afternoon. I hope he may acquit himself well of his commission, setting aside a little formality, which may pass in Germany. He has positive injunctions to communicate every thing to the Prince and you,

and to stay for an answer to our despatch at the Hague, in case the Prince judges any thing amiss or necessary in his instructions for Berlin.

I know not what to say for my Lord Bodmin, but that he is my Lord President's son, and has had, it seems, a long promise of this commission, but that and twenty other things would not have passed with me, and therefore I take myself to be better at Sheen than in the Secretary's place, though my Lord Sunderland pressed me upon it again so late as Saturday last; but you know, I suppose, that I am fixed, because you know several of the reasons I have for it. The Prince will be pleased, I hope, with the resolutions he finds when here in all the foreign matters, which are so exactly upon his own plan; and my Lord Sunderland and his friends answer to you that they will last.

I will repeat nothing that I write in the enclosed to the Prince, but relieve your eyes as soon as I can by telling you that I am ever and perfectly yours,

WILLIAM TEMPLE.

4th. Monsieur Graham, alias the Baron D'Arly, came to me, and told me that the Duke de Vitry had told him that the King his master had a de-

sign upon England as soon as he had built his ships, and put his fortifications in good condition to preserve his ships; he told me that there was one that was intendant of Monsieur Tellier, and was so to Monsieur Vitry, that will give the King an account of all the designs of France, and where he employs his money. There is also an Abbé that is employed by Monsieur Colbert, and hath the disposal of the monies that is distributed in England, Holland, and Germany; he will also inform the King of all he knows, and would have offered his service to the Prince four years ago. Both these are discontented, and, if the King will give them a pension, and offer them a retirement in case the business is discovered, they will let him know all this gentleman does, also offer to visit the ports and the shipping, and to give his Majesty an account in what condition they are. He is born in Guelderland; he hath been a major in this service; he advised me to draw Colonel Scott out of France. Monsieur Siegle was with me to assure me his master had not made any alliance with France.

5th. Monsieur Van Beuninghen came to me; he told me that the resolution would not pass till the Prince came back, for some reasons that he was obliged not to tell me; but he assured me I should

like them very well; that the French Ambassador had not yet desired that it should not pass, but that if he did, he should be against the passing of it. He told me they thought of sending Pats into Spain. He begins to incline to us, and a great many that were for the Alliance with France are now on our side.

6th. I sent for the Doctor: he was with me twice. Colonel Fitz Patrick stayed with me all the afternoon.

7th. I took physick. In the evening the French Ambassador sent to see how I did. Soon after Sir Robert Southwell came; he told me the reasons why my Lord Bodmin did not come. He brought Mr. Dorley with him, and gave me his instructions to peruse, and the project of a treaty. He tells me there is a great calm in England.

8th. I went with Sir Robert Southwell to the Prince; he gave him his instructions and other papers to read; he advises him to make what haste he can to the elector; he tells him plainly that he will find difficulty — that he is an odd-humoured man, and extremely unsatisfied with this state, and not very well pleased with the Prince. He pretends to have subsidies from them till the making of the peace, and will give no longer than to the

time they made the declaration that they were not able to give any longer; he showed the King of Denmark's letter, which was obliging. While we were talking, Odyke came, and told us that the business was done. The Amsterdamers have a good opinion of matters, for the Actions are higher than ever they were; they are risen to 24, some say 30.

9th. Mr. Hare was with me: he told me the several reasons of Sir Henry Capell's quitting—that the three Ministers are labouring to have the Parliament sit, that they are endeavouring to make conditions, and give up the Lords in the Tower; they had a conversation with the King, and had brought him to consent to several things, but, when they began to speak of the Duchess of Portsmouth, he rose and went away. My Lord Lauderdale never comes amongst them, but is mightily in with the Duke. The King hath a new mistress, Lord R——'s daughter. She brought the Duke of Monmouth to the King; he resolves to take up arms in case the King dies, for he will conclude him murdered. In the afternoon Sir Robert Southwell was with me, and showed me his letter to my Lord Sunderland, and afterwards told me his conversation with the Pensioner.

10th. Sir Robert Southwell and others dined with me. I had a long discourse with the Prince, and gave him an account of what I heard out of England.

11th. I dined with the Prince: there dined Monsieur Spaen, the Elector of Brandenburgh's general, who hath got a great estate by the war. I heard that Mademoiselle de Wylde was ill. I spoke to the doctor, and he gave me no great satisfaction. I went to court, and found Monsieur Fuen-Mayor.

13th. I was with the French ambassador; I went afterwards to Monsieur Spaen. At night I was at court; the French Ambassador came thither, and afterwards the Prince. He told Sir Robert and I that the French Minister at the Elector's court had given the Electrice a present of 700,000 crowns; that he had drawn near 400,000 out of Cleves, and made the people furnish them with waggons to carry it away.

14th. Sir Robert Southwell and the English gentlemen dined with me. At night he took his leave, but the Prince told him he would write. Amongst other things, he said that he was now extremely unwilling to have a war, but he thought things could never be brought to a good pass without one. He said that he believed no copies of the resolu-

tion would be given out; that there had been a great business about it. The province of Friez protested; the other provinces protested against their protestation; so that they are now writing against one another.

THE COUNTESS DOWAGER OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

March 12th.

I am very glad when I have a letter from you; but I do not expect you, that have a great deal to do, and I that have nothing, should write as many letters to me as I do to you. I will let Mr. Pierpoint know your willingness to favour him; he was gone out of town yesterday before I had your letter. He and his mistress, Montague and his wife, went down to Holland with Sir John. Next week they are to be married. To-morrow Tom Pelham goes, but not his wife, because she is with child. Her father was unwilling she should go, and they dare do nothing but what he likes. Our sister will have enough upon her hands with her new body, and he so bashful a man that needs encouragement. I never saw any body more than he is. She is pleased with them all now, and so is every one with

this marriage, I think, that is kind to her. Mr. Montague, I am confident, is not; but I do not now suspect any body else. When I did, it was from them I had my reasons. Her father might have married her worse and cheaper.

This day my Lord Sunderland is gone to Althorpe, and Mr. Smith has left the mirth of Holland, where he was invited, to go with him. Mr. Godolphin goes to Newmarket, and receives all my son's packets; if there is any occasion for his being there, Godolphin is to send for him — if not, he does not go. His Majesty and his city of London are upon very good terms. When he supped this week at the Mayor's, the people showed as much of affection and duty as the expressions at such a time could be. The Lady Mayoress sat next to the King, all over scarlet and ermine, and half over diamonds. The Aldermen drank the King's health over and over upon their knees, and wished all hanged and damned that would not serve him with their lives and fortunes. They attended him to Whitehall at two o'clock in the morning; they would not trust him with his guards, who were all drunk, but brought some of their own, and they all went merry out of the King's cellar. The next day they came in a full body to give both the King and

Duke thanks for the honour they had done them. The Mayor is now as well affected as any body, and was as ill.

Mr. Saville does show what is very probable, that he has no business, by his writing so many witty letters that nobody could do if any thing else were in his head. Some persons who the King is displeased with have made addresses to the Duke, to whom he has made an answer, that they must first deserve to be well with the King, and they should not fail of being so with him.

My Lord Ogle does prove the saddest creature of all kinds that could have been found fit to be named for my Lady Percy, as ugly as any thing young can be. The ladies of Northumberland House are going to Petworth, and he to his father to have good counsel. Just now Tom Pelham has been with me, and hindered my writing; but 'tis no matter, for I have little to say. He is very factious; but they are more quiet there than they have been. He confesses that he was one of them that thought the King supped at the Lord Mayor's against his will, and that it was done to make him lose his credit; but he is of another mind now by the manner of it there, and what he has done since. I draw very little consequence from the acclama-

tions of the people.[1] Our brother Algernon is very ill of a cough; he eats nothing but water-gruel. I do not see him, but I have sent to him twice. I thank God my old heart is whole, but I am mightily troubled with pain in my limbs when I offer to stir.

Poor Mrs. Harvey is going to Kew with her brother-in-law. My Lady Harvey and Mr. Montague are very busy and officious to serve her. I am not apt to think they do any thing out of good-nature or generosity. To you I am very truly affected.

D. S.

SIR LEOLINE JENKINS[2] TO MR. SIDNEY.

March 12th.

Sir,

It is with all humble thanks that I do acknowledge the favour of your most obliging letter of the

[1] With good reason, for these were the days of strange and sudden changes. Before the Duke of York went to Scotland, he was abused in all the playhouses: on his return, he was received with general joy, with bonfires, and peals of cannon. The most striking case, perhaps, was that which happened afterwards: when Lord Shaftesbury was sent to the Tower, he was hooted on his way; when the bill of indictment against him was thrown out, the court rung with acclamations.

[2] Sir Leoline Jenkins was the son of a yeoman in Glamorganshire. He was educated at Jesus College, Oxford, of which

8th current. You let me see by it how great a charity you can have for me, and I cannot but tremble for fear that so noble well wishes should find themselves disappointed; not that they will be so, if God bless me, for want of entire duty to my

he became Master after the Restoration, having in the interval lived in retirement and acted as a private Tutor. He took to the practice of the civil and canon law; and in 1663 was admitted into Doctors' Commons, about 1664 made Judge of the Admiralty, and in 1668 Judge of the Prerogative Court. In 1673, he went as Plenipotentiary to the Congress of Cologne, with Lord Sunderland and Sir Joseph Williamson. He was joined with Sir W. Temple as Ambassador and Mediator at the treaty of Nimeguen, and in 1680 he was made Secretary of State. He died in 1685, aged 62."—Wynne's *Life of Sir L. Jenkins.*

Burnet describes him as a " man of an exemplary life, and considerably learned; but he was dull and slow. He was suspected of leaning to popery, though very unjustly; but he was set on every punctilio of the Church of England to superstition, and was a great assertor of the divine right of monarchy, and was for carrying the prerogative high. He neither spoke nor writ well, but, being so eminent for the most courtly qualifications, other matters were the more easily dispensed with."

Sir Leoline Jenkins was the leader in the House of Commons of the opposition to the Bill of Exclusion; and, in accordance with the character which Burnet has given of him, we find him resting his argument upon these four grounds of objection.

First, that it was contrary to natural justice to condemn any man before the conviction or hearing of him.

Secondly, that it is contrary to the principles of our religion

master, but for want of the abilities requisite to the service. I must, therefore, beg leave to depend upon you, sir, as I must upon all those who are in the King's service for their advice and assistance as occasions shall offer. I will be sure, on

to dispossess a man of his right because he differs in points of faith.

Thirdly, that the Kings of England had their right from God alone, and that no power on earth could deprive them of it.

Fourthly, because the Exclusion was against the Oath of Allegiance, taken in its own sense, without Jesuitical evasions; which, binding all persons to the King, his heirs and successors, the Duke, as presumptive heir, must be understood.

The following story of Sir W. Temple and Sir Leoline Jenkins, which evidently rests upon the authority of Bishop Ken, is mentioned in the life of Sir Leoline by his biographer, Wynne. "Sir W. Temple and Sir Leoline Jenkins, being together at the Hague, after the conclusion of their embassy, Sir William sent a message to the Princess of Orange for leave to receive the communion the next day in her chapel. Accordingly, her Highness was pleased to give orders to her chaplains to make every thing ready; 'for though I am persuaded,' says she, 'he does not intend it, and by to-morrow will bethink himself of some business or excuse, yet my Lord Ambassador Jenkins I doubt not will be there, though he has not sent so formally to me.' Thus remarkable and well known was his piety and devotion to that discerning Princess, and it happened exactly according to her conjectures. This passage I have often heard spoken of, as well as many others, to the credit and honour of Sir L. Jenkins, by a right reverend prelate now living, who was at the time chaplain to her Royal

my part, to make the best and thankfullest returns I can, and to yourself in particular, who are to be, if I have the honour to be admitted to the King's business, my polar star.

Highness, and from whose judicious mouth I confess to have received the most early and strongest impressions of his character."

The Prince of Orange had not a high opinion of the powers of Sir L. Jenkins; and, if what D'Estrades says of him be true, he wanted an essential qualification of a statesman, and that for which the Prince was very eminent—decision of mind. He calls him "homme peu résolutif;" but he was an honest, humble-minded man, and, according to James II., took as much pains to escape the appointment to the office of secretary of state as other men did to obtain it. A curious and characteristic anecdote is told of him. When he rose to the high offices in which he was employed, that he might be constantly reminded of his humble origin, he is said

Suspendisse potenti
Vestimenta Deo,

to have hung in his chamber the old pair of leathern breeches in which he first rode into Oxford a poor scholar of Jesus College. Sir Leoline Jenkins died in 1685, aged 62.

It is a curious fact that two of the secretaries of state of Charles II., Sir Leoline Jenkins and Sir Joseph Williamson, had both been tutors. The latter was the son of a clergyman in Cumberland, and, from a travelling tutor, became Keeper of State Papers, and, in 1665, Under Secretary of State. He was afterwards Plenipotentiary at Cologne, and, from 1674 to 1678, Secretary of State, when he was succeeded by Lord Sunderland. He was Member for Thetford in 1678, and President of the Royal Society.—*Biog. Dict.* xxxii. 136.

Whilst I am here in the city, I do not take upon me to write any news, only I may tell you what some of the gravest and best experienced citizens tell me, which is, that the generality of the city is at this time in a more sedate and well-tempered disposition than could well be expected so suddenly, after the fermentation that some humours were put into by the Petitioners.

I am your most humble
And faithful servant,
L. JENKINS.

END OF VOL. I.

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